National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Service
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Service des thèses canadiennes

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

NL-339 (r. 88/04) c

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GROUP MEMBERSHIP: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF MOTIVATIONS AND SATISFACTIONS

BY

JUDY SHAW ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

In Recreation

DEPARTMENT OF RECREATION AND LEISURE STUDIES

Edmonton, Alberta
Spring, 1992

National Library of Canada
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Canadian Theses Service
Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-73255-5

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Judy Shaw

TITLE OF THESIS: Group Membership: An Ethnography of Motivations and Satisfactions

DEGREE: Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1992

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

Judy Shaw

58 Waverley Drive
Guelph, Ontario
N1E 6C8

Feb 21/92

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Group Membership: An Ethnography of Motivations and Satisfactions submitted by Judy Shaw in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

David J. Whitson
Dr. David Whitson

Thomas L. Burton
Dr. Thomas L. Burton

Dr. Barry Mitchelson

Date: Wednesday, February 5, 1992

ABSTRACT

This ethnography provides a description of volunteers' and members' motives and satisfactions surrounding their involvement in different voluntary organizations. Although every voluntary organization is unique in some way, there are some consistencies with respect to the personal and social needs met by similar types of groups offering similar experiences. To illustrate such similarities, two groups from each of the categories (activity-centred, cause-centred, and service-centred) were studied. The activity-centred groups were the Richard Eaton Singers and the Gateway Chapter of the Sweet Adelines Inc.. The cause-centred groups were ProLife Edmonton and Abortion By Choice. The service-centred groups were the Edmonton branch of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind and the Downtown Edmonton Rotary Club. Three or four members of each group were interviewed in order to collect the data. Most people joined the groups for self-interested reasons although some members of the cause-centred groups joined because of a sense of duty. Many different benefits were experienced by the group members; some associated with the specific purpose or function of the group and some derived from the sociability of the group.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

1. INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose and Significance of this Study 2
The Study Questions 5
The Method 6
Plan of the Thesis 7

2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 8

Voluntarism 8
Explaining Individual's Motivations 13
Sociability 18
Friendship 23
Leisure Groups 26
Conclusion 32

3. METHODOLOGY 34

The Interpretive Paradigm and Qualitative Approach 34
Qualitative Research Methods 37
Interview Technique and Format 40
Criticisms and Issues in Qualitative Research 41
The Research 44
Data Analysis 53
Conclusion 54

4. THE STORY OF INVOLVEMENT 55

Introduction 55
Family Experiences 56
Why? 59
How? 69
Awareness and Expectations 71
Conclusion 74

5. BENEFITS AND PLEASURE 76

Escape 76
Flow 77
Be Yourself 77
Learning and a Challenge 79

Contributing 80
Ebbs and Flows 83
Benefits to the Community 84
Conclusion 87

6. SOCIABILITY 89

A Benefit 89
Flowering Out 91
Sharing 93
Some Yes, Some No 95
Not For Friends 96
Conclusion 97

7. CONCLUSIONS 100

8. REFERENCES 108

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Many, many Canadians are involved in different types of voluntary groups during their leisure time. For example, in 1987, approximately 700,000 Canadians were involved in volunteering for society or public benefit organizations alone such as the United Way or political parties (Prince, 1989, p. 5). Other groups that involve helping individuals directly also use huge numbers of volunteers. These types of groups either work with a specific client group such as Meals-on-Wheels or Special Olympics or are multi-domain groups (Emo, 1989) such as Kiwanis or the International Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE) which donate time, money or services to many different types of groups. Besides volunteering for such service-centred groups, people can also volunteer time and energy to a social cause. Such cause-centred groups include Mothers Against Drunk Driving, Planned Parenthood, and ProLife. For the members of these types of groups, their involvement is often a way of acting on a sense of a social obligation and a direct and important way in which individuals can do something they feel will help create a better society.

While all the above organizations offer opportunities for volunteering to help individuals or the community more generally, there is also a whole other type of voluntary association which provides activities for its own members. Many people are involved in this type of organization during their non-work time. Such groups are organized around a great diversity of activities. Clearly, some activities by their very nature are collective, such as drama, bands, and team sports. Others such as gardening, stamp collecting and reading can be pursued on an individual basis (Bishop and Hoggett, 1986, p. 31), but even these can often have an additional group component (showing, sharing advice, discussion, etc.).

Obviously, people join and continue to be involved in all such groups, so there must be advantages and personal benefits that are experienced as a result of organizing or belonging to such groups. Conceivably, groups within each of the activity-centred, service-centred, and cause-centred classifications could offer similar experiences to their respective participants. As pointed out above each group is unique but there may be some consistencies across most kinds of volunteer involvement, and perhaps contrasts between the different kinds of groups. This draws attention to the major research question that this research addresses: why do people join or become involved in the organized groups they do during their leisure time?

This research is intended to provide a description of volunteers' and members' motives and satisfactions surrounding their involvement in different voluntary organizations. Every voluntary group is different in character and structure, and therefore fulfills a different social role, and a different role in the lives of individual members. Nonetheless, there may be some consistencies with respect to the personal and social needs met between groups with similar purposes, and offering similar kinds of experiences.

Purpose and Significance of this Study

The purpose of this study was to discover and describe the motivations and satisfactions of members of different leisure groups. An additional purpose was to determine if similarities or common themes exist among participants of different types of groups with respect to the personal benefits experienced by members and to members' views of groups. The importance of understanding people's involvement in different leisure groups is becoming increasingly evident. From the viewpoint of organizations trying to recruit volunteers and members, it is important to attract people to their particular organization rather than losing that potential participant to another group.

Information that provides a better understanding of the needs and satisfactions of participants would allow organizations to attract and keep better volunteers.

It is therefore important to know what people get from being members of groups. Ray Oldenburg (1989, p. xi) points out that there is a third realm of satisfaction and social cohesion beyond home and work, in which people feel relaxed and fulfilled. Although he sees this third realm as a place such as a café or pub, leisure groups may also be a part of it. Oldenburg (1989) argues, against including clubs or organizations, that what groups offer is only available at scheduled times, and only the mutual area of interest is addressed rather than a person's whole life (p. 61). However, Oldenburg's (1989) position fails to recognize the spillover to other parts of a person's life or the lasting effects that involvement in such groups can have. Other authors emphasize these "spillover" effects (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Bishop & Hoggett, 1986), saying leisure groups offer people group affiliation and a sociability that is for many, more readily available through involvement in such groups than it would be by being a "regular" at a café or pub. Both kinds of involvement may speak to the fact that in our commercialized, privatized, and individuated society, ties that bind people together are becoming harder to establish (Rojek, 1985, pp. 18-21).

Privatization is the tendency for people to spend more and more time in their homes, and is in part due to the development of inexpensive home entertainments (p. 19). Commercialization describes the increasing opportunities people have to buy things and experiences such as trips and sporting events in today's society. Although privatization and commercialization may have affected people's opportunities for sociability, it would be expected that individuation would have the greatest impact. In the past, people thought of themselves in terms of their relations with others: as someone's mother, as someone's son, or as a member of a particular community. These relations lasted and held important meaning for people forever. Now, however, a person is recognized as separate and distinct from others. Although this process of individuation is very complex and has continued for hundreds of years, Bellah et al. (1985) would say that it "emerged out of the struggle against monarchical and aristocratic authority that seemed arbitrary and oppressive" (p. 142). People wanted to have control over their own lives, wanted to be judged on their own merit, and wanted to be able to govern themselves. The process has evolved to a point where today success or failure is the sole responsibility of the individual, and his or her needs are paramount. As a result, it is now acceptable for a person to leave family, friends, and community behind in order to fulfill personal goals. Bellah et al. (1985) call this "our culture of separation." "Only gradually did it become clear that every social obligation was vulnerable, every tie between individuals fragile. Only gradually did what we have called ontological individualism, the idea that the individual is the only reality, become widespread" (p. 276). Yet, it seems that even though our society has become individuated, people are still looking for the satisfaction offered by ties with others. Many people are involved in organizations in their non-work hours that help them experience a sense of community and sociability. "Social interaction is no longer centred in the community and family; it has been shifted to groups with common interests and needs. These groups reflect a contemporary society characterized by great differentiation of activities and social networks" (p. 2). Thus, as Hoggett and Bishop (1985) say leisure groups are "an immensely rich and important area of collective activity" (p. 21), and they deserve study in terms of the needs they fulfill and the roles they play in people's lives.

This is especially true given the sheer number of people involved in voluntary groups. In 1987, there were 5,377,000 people who did volunteer work in Canada for 40,000 registered charities (Graff, 1989, p. 2). These groups include health organizations, society or public benefit organizations, leisure, recreation and sports organizations, and so on. Beyond doing volunteer work for such service-centred groups or cause-centred groups, people are also simply participants in other groups organized around activities, including such diverse interests as gardening, stamp collecting, and cross-country skiing. Thus, the number of Canadians getting some sort of experience from leisure groups in their non-work time is very great and on that basis alone these groups deserve study.

The people in this ethnographic study belong to or are volunteers in various groups within the Edmonton area. Their involvement is voluntary, even though for a few it can be considered the main occupation in their lives. Perhaps this stretches the definition of leisure and leisure time, but the main focus of the study is the motivation behind involvement in such groups, and not leisure per se. Members of service-centred groups came from the Edmonton branch of the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (CNIB) and the Downtown Edmonton Rotary Club. Members of activity-centred groups came from the Richard Eaton Singers and the Gateway Chapter of Sweet Adelines Inc.. Member of cause-centred groups came from Abortion By Choice and ProLife Edmonton. The groups chosen for study are significant because they represent a comparative sample of the different experiences offered to people by leisure groups. They highlight through their diversity what people derive from different groups, and what they are looking for from the groups they join.

The Study Questions

In an attempt to understand why people join different kinds of leisure groups and why they maintain their memberships, the study addresses the following questions:

1. Why did a person become a member of a particular group?

    a) how did he or she first hear about the group?
    b) how did he or she first become part of the group?
    c) was he or she looking for a specific type of group either with respect to activity or experience or some other characteristic?
    d) what expectations did the person have for the group when he or she joined?

2. Why does a person's membership in a group continue?

    a) what personal benefits does he or she get from being a member?
    b) is the reason for continuing participation the same as the person's reason for joining?
    c) what role does the person play within the group?
    d) how have the original expectations for the group been met or changed?

3. What does the member see as the significance of the group?

    a) what is the significance of the group to the member personally?
    b) what is the significance of the group to the community at large as seen by the member?

4. How important is the explicit function of the group to the member?

    a) how great is the tie the member feels to the function of the group?
    b) how great are the ties the member feels to other participants in the group?
    c) how has the social interaction with other participants developed beyond the function of the group?

The Method

Informal interviews were used to collect the data. The interviews had an agenda as outlined above, but were not structured around a specific set of questions. The questions for each interview arose during the course of the discussions and attempted to explore the themes and ideas that were important to each individual. Thus, the structure of each interview was different although common themes did emerge. Informal interviews such as these allowed the possibility of probing more deeply into what each person was saying. As well, they allowed for opportunities for clarification because of their flexibility which allows unanticipated points to be explored. As a validity check, some participants were asked to comment on the findings.

Interviews were carried out with three or four members of each of the different types of groups: two cause-centred groups (Abortion By Choice and ProLife), two service-centred groups--one dealing directly with a specific client group (the CNIB) and the other a mediated-service group (Rotary), and two activity-centred groups both organized around vocal music (the Richard Eaton Singers and the Gateway Sweet Adelines). Some similarities (e.g., abortion groups, vocal music) were incorporated into the choices of groups so as not to introduce too many variables. Three or four interviews were conducted so that members with varying lengths of tenure and holding different positions in the groups could be interviewed.

Plan of the Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is organized in the following way. Chapter two is a review of the substantive literature on voluntarism, sociability, and leisure groups. Chapter three provides a detailed description of the methodology and the groups studied. Chapters four through six outline the findings from the interviews. Each chapter deals with a major theme that arose from the discussions. Chapter four, the Story of Involvement, deals with why people got involved, how they got involved, their family experiences as they affect involvement, and the expectations for the involvement. Chapter five describes the benefits and pleasures people experience from their involvement in the groups. Chapter six deals specifically with the sociability benefits of being a group member. Finally, chapter sever is the conclusion and provides a summary of the research, and a discussion of the limitations of the study as well as directions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

People are involved with many different types of groups during their leisure time: cause-centred groups, service-centred groups, and activity-centred groups. These various types of groups offer such experiences as volunteering to help a particular client group or cause, or participating in many diverse activities. However, it is likely that one experience common to all is the sociability associated with being involved. Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to review the substantive literature on voluntarism, sociability, and leisure groups.

Although volunteering is an experience people seek out in their leisure time, the literature that discusses the history and development of voluntarism points out the erosion of the sense of private responsibility for others. Thus, helping others became no longer a personal relationship but was mediated through the government and other agencies, and thus depersonalized. This change in the ties that bind us together leads directly into the review of the sociability literature; this further emphasizes the weakening of social ties and sense of community, and explores possible causes such as individuation, compartmentalization, and urbanization. Leisure groups offer people a chance to form ties with other people and create a feeling of community in today's society, regardless of their particular function. Thus, the leisure group literature will be reviewed.

Voluntarism

As with most areas, research regarding voluntarism has ranged from global and descriptive to specific and explanatory. On the global level, authors write about the social construction, history, and trends of voluntarism. For example, Barber (1980) writes about volunteering or helping in the context of the development of the welfare state.

> Many of the old needs that neighbours supplied are eliminated in an industrial society. There is little exchange of food; nor very much need for mutual help in illness or in work requiring large groups, such as harvesting or housebuilding (pp. 20-21).

Services and help once provided by neighbours and extended family disappeared and people's ties with one another were weakened. Initially, private groups such as churches and individuals (usually middle-class women) filled the gap and looked after the needy either because of religious conviction or because of the absence of a safety net. Either way helping and volunteering was seen as a private responsibility and involved a personal relationship between those in need and those who helped. As described by Barber (1980), this was the beginning of our social welfare system.

> Indeed, the care of the needy in all its forms...originated largely in the purposes and efforts of private persons who volunteered to aid their less fortunate fellow-citizens. Many of the services so founded have subsequently become the responsibility of governmental agencies...because general community sentiment has often overtaken the social work pioneers and defined as a public necessity what had hitherto been offered only as a private gratuity (p. 178).

Thus, people opted out of the personal relationship and we have taken on as a society, a collective responsibility for the needy. Ignatieff (1984) points out how the process of the government taking over formal responsibility for looking after the needy has typically freed people form any sense of personal obligation for the "needs of strangers." Money received from taxpayers is delivered to the needy in the form of services, unemployment benefits, education loans, etc.

> The mediated quality of our relationship seems necessary to both of us. They are dependent on the state, not upon me, and we are both glad of it. Yet I am also aware of how this mediation walls us off from each other. We are responsible for each other, but we are not responsible to each other (p. 10).

A trend often cited as affecting voluntarism today is the changing role of women in the labour force. This change according to Barber (1980) began during the second

World War when more women entered the workforce in the place of absent men, and when people in general began to volunteer more to support the war effort. "There was also, during the war, a change in the character of the volunteer population. What had formerly consisted (almost) entirely of middle-class women had become, more nearly, a cross-section of the society" (p. 191). Women had traditionally been the volunteers of our society and this began to change. Beyond the concern over the gap that would be left as women worked more and could volunteer less, McPherson and Smith-Lovin (1986) write about the continuing change in the nature of women's social participation as a result of their increased paid employment.

> Another reason for our interest in the sex composition of voluntary organizations is that women's voluntary participation may be changing as a result of changing gender roles...As more women enter the paid labour force, they may be less likely to join expressive single-sex groups, and more likely to have voluntary participation patterns that are similar to men's--instrumental and useful for furthering one's career (p. 62).

This change in the nature of the volunteer work done by women and the decrease in the number of volunteers created a "crisis" in volunteer work. Imagine, a national programme designed to stimulate charitable giving and volunteer work is a response to that crisis. Martin Connell (1990), chairman of Imagine, has written about the increasing number of Canadian companies making charitable donations and developing a sense of social responsibility. Thus, he is encouraging social re-involvement in ways different from the past.

Valerie Ahwee (1985) also points to another trend that is affecting voluntarism. Society's attitudes about leisure are changing so that lifelong learning, self-fulfillment and self-development are emphasized. Thus, rather than because of a sense of personal responsibility, some people are volunteering in order that they may have a productive, self-improving experience.

> In the context of voluntarism, productive leisure and lifelong learning may become intertwined when community involvement is perceived as offering two distinct but related advantages: (1) the chance to spend free time constructively, and (2) the chance for self-improvement by learning new skills (pp. 148-149).

Historically, and even today, this view tends to be a middle-class one. "Its roots lay in middle-class experience itself, in the problem felt by that growing eighteenth-century leisure class which had an excess of time on its hands and yet wished to avoid aristocratic dissipation" (Cunningham, 1980, p. 90).

In the contemporary period, research on voluntarism has described contemporary volunteers themselves, the number of volunteers, their distribution in terms of geography and demographics, and the organizations for which they volunteer. In 1975, the Canadian Council on Social Development did a study "to test the hypothesis that there are large numbers of people in Canada who are potential volunteers; to explore the characteristics of volunteers and those who are not volunteers; and to inquire in a preliminary way into present organizational practices related to volunteer activities" (Carter, 1975, p. xix). The national survey of Canadians also got data from a questionnaire canvass of volunteer organizations, documentation from volunteer bureaus, and interviews with volunteers. To highlight the findings most relevant to this study: the two most common points of entry into volunteer work are church or synagogue work and work with youth (p. 28); parents and friends are the biggest influence in terms of getting people involved in volunteering (p. 28). More than half of all people in the national survey, whether currently volunteers or not, said that if asked they would get involved. Finally, however, the national survey revealed that people are motivated by altruism and self-interest above sociability, religion, and ethics.

In Canada, the most recent and most comprehensive study investigating these areas was the 1987 National Survey on Volunteer Activity done by Statistics Canada for the Department of the Secretary of State. The survey was sent to approximately 70,000 Canadians, all at least fifteen years old. After screening, the initial respondents involved in volunteering through an organization were sent a questionnaire which gathered more information on formal volunteering. From the data gathered, a series of profiles was written on a number of topics including: volunteering with youth (Stewart, 1989), informal volunteers (Harvey, 1989), self-help groups (Guay, 1989), and volunteers in leisure and sports organizations (Kent, 1989). In 1987, 5.3 million adult Canadians volunteered formally through a variety of organizations. Fifty-five per cent of all volunteers were women and in terms of age, people aged 35 to 44 were the most likely to volunteer. Also as both the level of education increased and as income increased, so did the rate of volunteering (Zenchuk, 1989).

Another theme examined in research into voluntarism is the economic benefits derived from volunteering both for the individual and for the economy in general. In Burton's study, "The Economic Significance of Recreation in Alberta", he outlined three ways of measuring the economic value of volunteer hours. The first assumes that the volunteers' time is worth minimum wage. At the time of the study, minimum wage was $3.80 and in Alberta, the volunteers worked 10,518,000 hours per year which means that their volunteering was worth $39,968,400. The second method assumes that a volunteer's time is worth an arbitrary wage. Burton used $6.00 per hour which means the economic value of the volunteer hours was $63,108,000. The third method is based on a supposed market equivalent value of the volunteer's work. In this case, $12.30 per hour was used which was the 1982 mean rate for a recreation worker in Alberta. The result is an economic value of $129,371,400 for volunteer hours. Hawrlshyn (1978) did a similar study for all volunteer activity in Canada. He also used the third method which estimated the market replacement cost for volunteers. Each service provided by a volunteer was categorized for example as supervisory, managerial, clerical, etc., and then assigned the average market wage for the job. On average, he found that each volunteer put in five hours a week and the economic value of the contribution was $830 per volunteer per year in 1971 prices. These studies point to the value of the volunteer to the economy but as Burton (1984) says, "The value attributed by the volunteer to his or her involvement in recreation is incalculable in money terms" (p. 58). David P. Ross (1989) addresses the economic importance of volunteering to the volunteer in the report "Economic Dimensions of Volunteer Work in Canada". He writes, "Although not widely appreciated, volunteer work contributes to building skills among volunteers, and these enhanced skills have a positive spin-off value for the whole economy" (p. 4). For 70% of the volunteers in the survey, learning new skills was an important feature of their volunteer work and 44% of volunteers said it was important that their volunteer work offered them an opportunity for improving their job possibilities (pp. 4-5).

Explaining Individual's Motivations

Research into the motivation of volunteers has been extensive. Much of it concludes that there are many reasons that may explain why different people volunteer (Grieshop, 1985; Van Til, 1985). Even within an individual, motivation is complex; there is usually a mixture of reasons why a particular person volunteers. Pure altruism rarely solely explains a volunteer's motivation, and the motives people have may not be clear even to themselves (Moore, 1985, p. 4). In fact, "Motives may be disguised either consciously or subconsciously by an individual" (p. 5). "Persons who say they volunteer for altruistic reasons just do not admit that they have some sort of self-satisfying reason for volunteering" (Schram, 1985, p. 14). Yet this itself is a proposition that is difficult to either substantiate or disprove. Authors also acknowledge the difficulty of identifying motives when some volunteers give little thought to it themselves. "In fact, Mary has given little thought to why she serves as a volunteer coordinator or to why she enjoys her work so much" (Pinder, 1985, p. 31). Not everyone is reflective, in the ways social scientists might be. Given these difficulties, most studies suggest that motives can be divided into three categories: "(a) altruistic, with a goal of increasing others' welfare; (b) egoistic, with the goal of increasing the helper's welfare; and (c) social obligation with a goal of repaying a debt to society" (Fitch, 1987, p. 425).

Several theoretical schemes have been proposed to explain such complex motivations. The first of these is the need fulfillment theory. Based on Maslow's hierarchy of latent needs, it says that each person has needs at different levels that, when unfulfilled, motivate behaviour (Schram, 1985, p. 17). As a lower level need is satisfied, the next one is activated and becomes a motivator. For example, after an unemployed person got a job and a steady income, he or she may feel the need to join some sort of social group in order to make friends and get a feeling of belonging.

Socialization theories posit that people can be socialized for volunteer work. They learn that it is part of their role in society or part of their duty as citizens to volunteer. "Parents who participate in volunteer work provide a model for their children. That activity becomes part of the adult role to which the child aspires" (p. 18). More specifically, a working class parent may provide an adult role model that is different from the middle- or upper-class example. With respect to gender too, boys and girls learn from their parents' example what their roles as men and women should include, and they may end up being socially active in ways that are traditionally male or female.

Another group of theories is derived from utility theory, which says that every person will allocate his or her resources so that optimum utility is achieved (p. 15). The idea is that the benefits derived from the resources allocated will be equal to the costs of expending the resources. Thus, the maximum return is achieved. However, since benefits and costs will be unique for each individual, general motivators are difficult to identify. So although utility theory provides a reasonable theoretical explanation of involvement, it does nothing to identify general patterns of motivations.

Also based on utility theory, and indeed often used to explain voluntarism, is social exchange theory (Schram, 1985, p. 17). Unlike utility theory, however, exchange theory claims that resources will be allocated so that the benefits derived exceed the costs. Thus, activities will be chosen where the benefits exceed the costs by the greatest amount, and volunteering will only continue as long as the rewards are greater than what the volunteer gives (Rubin & Thorelli, 1984, p. 225). This hypothesis was investigated by Rubin and Thorelli (1984) in a study of Big Brothers and Big Sisters volunteers. They found that such a setting provides little in the way of egoistic rewards and that the more strongly a volunteer was motivated by egoistic benefits, the shorter was his or her length of participation. It is interesting to note that while the socialization theory talks about duty and obligation, need fulfillment theory and all the utility theories emphasize the self-interest of volunteering. The above example perhaps points to the limits of utility theory, or at least self-interest as an explanation.

A special form of the utility theory is the human capital theory (p. 15). In this case, the resources--e.g., time, energy, personal skills--allocated to volunteering are considered human capital investments. The return on such investments are improved skills, knowledge, or health that will positively influence future monetary income and psychological well-being. Such a theory would explain Fitch's (1987) finding that one of the major motives for college students being involved in volunteer work is career experimentation. Expectancy theory is also based on some sort of return for investment of personal resources. However,

> In this instance, the emphasis is on forward-looking beliefs about what will happen as a result of one's actions... Motivation is influenced not only by the expectations they have but also by the probability they feel that the expectations will be met (Schram, 1985, p. 17).

Thus, if a person felt that volunteering would help him or her develop skills that would help in the job market, he or she would volunteer with the organization that was the most likely to provide these skills.

Indeed, in light of most of the above theories, it does seem that volunteers expect something in return for their efforts. Clark and Wilson (1961) provide a framework for distinguishing among volunteers' expectations from participation and the kinds of incentives offered to encourage their participation. Their framework divides incentives into three broad categories. The first is material incentives which are tangible rewards such as money, goods, or services. The second is solidary incentives which are intangible.

> They derive in the main from the act of associating and include such rewards as socializing, congeniality, the sense of group membership and identification, the status resulting from membership, fun and conviviality, the maintenance of social distinctions, and so on. Their common characteristic is that they tend to be independent of the precise ends of the association (pp. 134-35).

Finally, the third is purposive incentives which are intangible but derive from the specific ends of the organization rather than just associating with other people. An example of such an incentive would be the prospect of getting certain legislation passed as a result of lobbying and public education efforts. The idea behind incentive theories is that organizations must provide some kind of incentive in exchange for the contributions of individuals and in this case volunteers.

Another body of research into voluntarism concerns the rationales organizations use to show people why they should volunteer (Reichlin, 1982). Organizations use normative arguments to appeal to people and hopefully, motivate them to volunteer. These justifications have changed over time from appealing to people's sense of civic duty - "In exchange for the rights they enjoy in a democracy, individuals have a civic duty to reform both their own moral conduct and that of the rest of society" (Reichlin, 1982:26) - and thereby strengthening the nation to the psychological and economic rewards available to individuals through volunteering.

Another variation on this interest of organizations looks at ways of increasing the motivation and commitment of volunteers from the perspective of the voluntary organization. For example, Schindler-Rainman (1985) writes that if the feelings of competence of the volunteer are enhanced, then his or her motivation will be increased. This can be done by including volunteers in the decision-making and problem-solving processes, by giving them a chance to be creative, by putting them in positions of control and power, by teaching them new skills and exposing them to new experiences, etc..

Sherman and Smith (1984) have investigated a different approach to keeping levels of motivation high. They claim that the structure of the organization can influence the motivation of members. The underlying idea is that people are intrinsically motivated to do things that make them feel self-determining and competent. Thus, external constraints imposed by the organization can reduce these feelings and subsequently reduce intrinsic motivation. With respect to the structure of the organization, these external constraints include standardization, formalization, integration, centralization, levels of hierarchy, and organizational size. To test this hypothesis 44 conservative churches were investigated. Questionnaires were administered to 25 randomly chosen members of each congregation and all the ministers. Supporting the hypothesis, the level of the structural variables explained a large amount of the variance in intrinsic motivation. These two studies point to ways an organization can try to keep motivation high once a volunteer is involved: by keeping institutional constraints to a minimum and by developing feelings of competence.

In summary, there has been extensive research on voluntarism. Some research has focused on the history and social construction of voluntarism; it has looked at patterns of class and gender in the social composition and social practice of early volunteers, and has tried to explain changes in these patterns. One change of particular relevance to my research is the erosion of a sense of private responsibility for strangers.

Some people have opted out of a personal relationship with those who need help. This highlights the weakening of ties that bind us together. Another very different approach has examined volunteers' motivation and ways of maintaining that motivation. Volunteering for different causes or services, whatever the reason, continues to be an experience many people seek during their leisure time. One oft-cited reason for volunteering is the social interaction offered through the experience. This is cited by those who want to develop some skills as well as those who do not talk the language of self-interest. The following section discusses this desire for the sociability associated with being a member of a group and more generally, social interaction in today's society.

Sociability

Many authors (Bellah et al., 1985; Barber, 1980; Rojek, 1985; Guay, 1989; Oldenburg, 1989) write about the effects today's society has on people's need for association and its fulfillment. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, social status was no longer ascribed at birth. People earn their position in society based largely on their function as part of the labour force. "The labour functions are largely segregated and institutionalized in the occupational system and it is through the effective performance of an occupational role that adult male members of the society gain a social status" (Barber, 1980, p. 14). Even though Barber wrote this only a little over a decade ago, the situation has begun to change. Formerly, women achieved social status according to the achievements of their husbands or fathers, but now since more and more women are living independently and remaining single, they are starting to be accorded status based on their own occupational performance. Thus, persons of both sexes are increasingly recognized as separate and distinct from others. But because success is individual and based on performance in the labour market of a complex and specialized skill, men and women alike must have flexible ties to family and community and must be mobile.

Another result of this individuation is that life has become compartmentalized (Guay, 1989). Because people have become so mobile, the ties with the community or neighbourhood and extended family have been weakened. Thus, social solidarity and satisfaction, formerly strong because leisure, work and family activities took place in one place has diminished. Ray Oldenburg (1989) draws out this idea of compartmentalization when he writes about a need for a "third realm" of satisfaction and social cohesion, beyond home and work. This third realm which encompasses institutions like bars and coffee shops where sociability is regularly experienced, is needed by people in order that they may feel ties with other people in contemporary circumstances.

Another perspective on institutions that bring people together, and provide sociability and the strengthening of social ties, is offered by research that focuses on "community". For example, in an article about the meaning of community, Winning (1990) writes: "The space of community has continuity; it is reliably a friendly, known place, and the welcome is the same at any time or on any day" (p. 15). Further, "community means feeling a part of the population, a part of the group; it means sensing one's own contribution to the direction and purpose of the whole group" (p. 16). It is important to recognize that this feeling of belonging can be to urban communities as well as rural ones.

This emotional component is often called "the sense of community". Chavis, Hogge, and McMillan (1986) say that membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection contribute to a person's sense of community. From a rather different perspective, Bellah et al. (1985) say that this sense of community comes from a social interdependence among people "who participate together in discussion and decision-making" (p. 333) and from a history which helps define the community and provides a common memory. Here "community" includes a sense of interdependence and commitment to one another that goes beyond the sociability of bars and coffee shops discussed by Oldenburg.

Davis' (1986) study of fishermen's wives in Newfoundland is a good example of the common memory of a community. The memory is that of the fishing tradition which "incorporates both the ideal of the rugged fisherman and the ideal of the silently enduring and hardworking wife and mother" (p. 137). This memory and community identity is passed down through the generations and is also actively maintained. Thus, the social relations that make up this fishing community give structure and meaning to the lives of the residents of the fishing village and provide them with a sense of belonging and well-being.

Bender (1978) would say that these definitions of community and sense of community are nostalgic, and preclude any possibility of community in today's society. "The kind of community that is available to us is not the enveloping community seventeenth-century New Englanders knew" (p. 146). However, although this "storybook" community may be gone, Bender says that the need for community is not and that community itself is not gone either.

> We do need a network of relations that constitute community, but these need not extend to all our neighbour or fellow residents of the metropolis. If we can accept this fact, then we might conquer the nostalgic impulse that seeks community and familiarity in all our social relations. Any attempt to make community everything denies the historical reality in which we live (pp. 146-147).

However, many researchers still subscribe to the "nostalgic" definitions and as a result are concerned about modern changes to living patterns that make commitment and community more compartmentalized, and simply more difficult for many people to find. For example, Alexander Sim (1988) writes that "community life everywhere has taken a severe beating. Traditional peasant societies are in disarray while cities are a collage of glitter and decadence. There behind the splendid boulevards are hidden away homeless people, overcrowding, and decay" (p. 17). One result of this has been research comparing urban and rural communities, seeking to reveal the effects of urbanization. The stereotypical changes include weakening of kin ties, social isolation, alienation, fierce competition, conflict, stress, and moral decay (Crowe, 1981, p. 120). Further, "scholars depict a particular form of solitude: city-dwellers are socially active, perhaps frenetically so, but they have only fleeting and superficial social contacts; they lack the multifaceted and emotionally engaging relations for true community" (Fischer, 1982, p. 54).

Fischer (1982) did a study which compared 1050 rural and urban adults living in fifty northern California communities in 1977 and 1978. The respondents quickly confirmed that urbanites are indeed socially active: they were more likely to have recently engaged in a variety of activities with other people. "The youth, education, income, and unmarried status of urbanites accounts for most of this difference, but not for all of it" (Fischer, 1982: 54). Perhaps, the rest of the difference is due to urbanization.

Bellah et al. (1985) would say that urbanites have more friends and are more socially involved because large centres provide more opportunities for communities of interest to form (p. 134). Such formal or informal groups emerge based on people having something more in common: a sport, a cause or a profession for example; something beyond just being neighbours. This showed up in the classic study of a Canadian suburban community, Crestwood Heights. In this study, Seeley, Sim, and Loosely (1956) found that Crestwood Heights could be described as a community because like all communities (according to their definition) there are relationships between people and these exist for a definite purpose. What makes the suburb a unique type of community is that rather than having that purpose be an industry, it is child rearing. It is rare for people to work and live in Crestwood Heights. Most people commute daily to "Big City" for their jobs. Thus, with child rearing being the common interest of the residents, one of the center points of Crestwood Heights is the schools. Indeed, "the school dominates the social scene" (p. 224) and "the most important voluntary association in Crestwood Heights is the Home and School Association" (p. 277). Generally, clubs and associations are a big part of life in Crestwood Heights and reflect how social relationships "are, more and more, being channelled into impersonal, highly structured institutionalized patterns" (p. 292). Seeley et al. (1956) say this is because of the middle-class need for "rational" recreation. Perhaps, however, it is also due to the fact that there is no common bond beyond place of residence, such as work or history, to tie these people together more informally.

Patricia Ward Crowe (1981) examined social networks at three levels of urbanization in Austria: a large urban centre, towns, and villages. She also found that urbanites are more active socially and more often have close friends and with respect to kinship, there were few differences at the three levels. Even so at all levels, people felt urbanites were less friendly, did not know each other, and spent much of their time with strangers. This reflected a more general belief that modern society is less friendly. However, when asked how they knew this, none of the respondents could answer. Thus, even though their responses did not support them, the informants showed that they believed the stereotypes. Their perceptions are not therefore, necessarily wrong. It could be that the research instrument (a semi-structured interview that measured social activity and friendships) was not suited to capture the kind of community that was important to these people.

Another area of research into the social fabric of communities has been the attachment people feel to their communities in this age of mobility and urbanization. Kasarda and Janowitz (1974) compared two models that predict community attachment. The first uses population size and density together as the key independent variable affecting local community attachment while the second focuses on length of residence.

The idea behind the first model is that increases in population size and density will mean that secondary contacts will be substituted for primary ones (friends and family), thus weakening the kinship ties and also decreasing the social significance of the local community for a person. Simply, the second model implies that the longer one lives in community, the more attached to it he or she will be because a complex system of social networks becomes established. As with the Crowe (1981) study, people who resided in large urban areas tended to have more extensive social ties. Thus, an increase in population size and density had no significant effect on local friendship, kinship, or associational bonds. On the other hand, length of residence had a positive significant effect: the longer people had lived in a community the more friendships and ties with others they had. Community attachment included feelings of "at home-ness", interest level about what takes place in the community, and degree of feelings of regret or pleasure if the person had to move. Population size and density had relatively weak and, for the most part, insignificant effects on local community attachment. Conversely, length of residence has positive and statistically significant effects on all three components of community attachment (p. 334).

Friendship

All the above authors write about friendships without ever really defining it. Usually, it is defined as the respondents wish to interpret it (Crowe, 1985, p. 215). Robert Paine (1969) writes that difficulty arises because "the term 'friendship' is drawn from the stock of everyday words in our own culture, and is explained by other everyday terms whose exact meanings are not necessarily agreed upon" (p. 509). Further, Pogrebin (1987) writes that "almost everyone has a different definition of friendship, yet we all use the word as if it had a universal meaning. Friendship is a category each of us invents" (p. 8). However, in their personal definitions of friendship most people typically describe it as a situation with another person that involves loyalty, trust, generosity, acceptance, and honesty" (pp. 37-44).

The theories to explain why people choose friends are similar to those that explain volunteer motivation. Exchange theorists are concerned with the benefits derived from social bonds and what investments people make in relationships (Perlman & Fehr, 1986, p. 12). Reinforcement theories of attraction claim that we like people who provide us with rewards (p. 11). Cognitive consistency theories assume that we have a basic need for balance or consistency in our lives. A perception of imbalance will motivate a person to make a friend.

Such theories of friendship emphasize the psychological factors involved in choosing a friend. "In the psychological literature there is scant recognition that the behaviour in a close relationship is shaped by the structural circumstances of that relationship" (Blumstein & Kollock, 1988, p. 471). Sociological literature, however, attempts to address precisely these kinds of issues. Huckfeldt (1983) did a study that deals with how a person's environment structures his or her social encounters and friendship choices. The idea is that friendship choices are not entirely dependent on the characteristics and preferences of the individual but that preferences themselves are "constrained by the availability of socially similar individuals in the environment" (p. 651). This would tend to produce a preference for friends in the same social circumstances. The study of white Detroit men asked them to name their three closest friends (non-kin). The findings showed that the social class content of the friendship groups was fairly homogeneous but the results "also established the importance of physical proximity in friendship group construction" (p. 661). Men residing in a neighbourhood where a particular class is more dominant are "more likely to have a friend from that class, regardless of his own class membership" (p. 667). Thus, the men's social context structures friendship choice, through the influence it has on the men's encounters.

Another important body of research into friendship and social ties has looked at social networks (Foster & Seidman, 1982; Feld, 1981). People's social networks are considered to be a factor in their well-being and therefore, worth investigating. The underlying concept is that a larger number of significant social bonds leads a person to feel more satisfied with social support and to increase feelings of well-being (Baumgarten, Thomas, de Courval, & Infante-Rivard, 1988). A study done by Peter Wilmott (1987) in Britain found that middle-class people had larger networks than upper-class and working-class people. The main sources of friends were work, childhood or school, neighbours, and churches, clubs or leisure activities in that order. Allan (1979) had similar findings in a community study of Selden Hey. But, "in addition to having a greater number of friends, the middle-class are also recognized as forming friendships with people met in a wider variety of social settings" (p.47) and are more apt to interact with those friends in settings beyond where they first met. Working-class respondents typically drew their friends from work and neighbourhood only. Also, working-class people had more difficulty in deciding whether somebody could be called a friend or not. This might account for some of the difference in numbers or perhaps they were just less willing to give the status of "friend" to people from work or the neighbourhood.

Research has shown that there are three main influences on a person's social network: 1) place in the social structure (as illustrated above), 2) gender, and 3) place in life cycle (Wilmott, 1987). Women have more contact with their friends (p.30) and seem to have more fulfilling relationships generally than men do. Unlike women, Pogrebin (1987) found that men do not talk to each other about intimate things; they do not give each other affection; they do not nurture each other; they do not have holistic friendships but rather see friends as filling particular roles (eg. work friends, squash partner, Rotary friend) (pp. 254-278).

As people get older the size and structure of their social networks change

(Palinkas, Wingard, & Barret-Connor, 1990). Changing roles involving retirement, widowhood, and health factors cause deteriorations in networks. This fact makes older people at risk for depression. Both Palinkas et al. (1990) and Baumgarten et al. (1988) found that older people who perceived that their social support had decreased showed more depressive symptoms. Thus, evidence is further presented that social networks are associated with psychological well-being.

This section generally reviewed the literature on sociability with some discussion of social networks and friendship. It examined the effects on friendship patterns of urbanization, compartmentalization, and individuation on communities. It is suggested that these have decreased people's ties to their communities as traditionally defined and as a result to each other. Yet, the social bonds formerly associated with communities are still sought by people. Bellah et al. (1985) and Bender (1978) both say that although the "storybook" community may be gone, communities of interest can provide friends and a sense of community.

Leisure Groups

The following section reviews the literature concerning leisure groups: their social context, various functions of the groups and relationships within the groups. Even though there is an overlap between some of the experiences offered by all groups whether they are service-centred, activity-centred or cause-centred, the literature has identified different things regarding what I have termed leisure groups. They are the groups which provide activities for their particular members or community. Examples would be a bridge club or parents running a Saturday morning programme for the neighbourhood children.

There are many definitions of leisure groups or as they are also know community associations, or voluntary groups. In very broad sense, Hoggett and Bishop (1985) describe such groups as unitary bodies sharing a common single objective. In a further work (Bishop & Hoggett, 1986), they claim that such groups are made up of enthusiasts or amateurs who come together in a collective for "activity which is freely given yet typically assumes the form of highly skilled and imaginative work, whilst remaining leisure and not employment" (p. 1). Alan Twelvetrees (1976) defines a community association as an organization that performs a variety of functions from neighbours lobbying for better services to a large bureaucracy that meets cultural, educational, or social needs (p. 1).

To further distinguish between types of groups, authors have proposed different typologies of leisure groups. Many classify groups as either instrumental or expressive (McPherson & Smith-Lovin, 1986; Twelvetrees, 1982). An instrumental group tries to achieve something outside the group: to legalize abortion, for example; while an expressive group deals with matters inside the group: a bridge club would be an example of an expressive group (Twelvetrees, 1982, p. 14). Alan Twelvetrees (1982) also offers another similar classification system: self-help groups and pressure groups. He describes a self-help group as a "group of people who decide to undertake a project which they can do by using or creating their own resources" (p. 13). These groups include fun activities, leisure-time pursuits, and social service activities. Pressure groups are those in which people come together to take action on a problem whose solution lies outside the power of the group. Here again, the legalization of abortion is an example. Alan Tomlinson (1983) suggests that such groups are made up of middle-class people who are "looking for a form of collective action what they have never had" (p. 77) whereas working-class people see leisure-group participation as separate from the world of politics and work (p. 78).

The Wolfenden Committee (1978) offered several ways of distinguishing between leisure groups: organizational size, whether an organization relies predominantly on voluntary or paid staff, or by the nature of their intended beneficiaries. Intended beneficiaries can be of four types. Organizations aim to help groups of people with special needs who may be called clients. Some groups are concerned with the public good in general while others serve their members exclusively, and finally some groups have other organizations as their beneficiaries. As Alan Twelvetrees (1982) points out, a lot of groups can be fit into more than one category regardless of the typology.

People join leisure groups for many different reasons. Bishop and Hoggett (1986) point out many things that give people the impetus to join: competition, recreation, achievement of a certain standard, reinforcement of work roles, compensation for things lacking at work, and the list goes on. Thus, the specific nature of the group can fulfill such needs. For example, in a study of members of a racquetball club, Battista (1990) found that enjoyment and competition were the most important factors giving meaning to a person's participation.

But many authors write about the role of such groups beyond their particular function. "At first, members may derive satisfaction from coming together for the purpose of achieving a stated end; later they may derive equal or greater satisfaction from simply maintaining an organization" (Clark & Wilson, 1961, p. 103-131). Most often this greater satisfaction is believed to arise out of the sociability offered by the particular group. "... Above and beyond their special content, all these associations are accompanied by a feeling for, by a satisfaction in, the very fact that one is associated with others" (Simmel, 1971, p. 128). Further:

> ... from the standpoint of the individual a voluntary organization is seen not only as a means for satisfying certain of his interests and needs, but also a group of people with whom he may or may not feel that he could mix freely (Twelvetrees, 1976, p. 43).

This last point is crucial. Although often friendships will be made through group fellowship, it does not guarantee that this will happen.

> ... there exists only something "less than" friendship for the reason that the members of the groups or institution have a relationship

> to each other only in terms of their dedication to it; i.e., they have chosen the group and not each other ... (Paine, 1969, p. 518).

In such a case, such a social relationship, people act as the occupants of certain roles and thus, the relationship is between the roles and would not change if one of the individuals was replace (Blumstein & Killock, 1988, p. 469). An example of this would be the evidence against the myth of the camaraderie between mountain climbers. Donnelly 1982) found that the "brotherhood of climbers is quite different from close interpersonal friendships" (p. 46) and that there " is a rather pragmatic tendency to climb with a partner who has similar plans, or who is of similar ability, or who can complement one's own climbing inadequacies" (p. 47).

However, groups may have an effect beyond their ostensible title which is as facilitators of general patterns of socialization (Hoggett & Bishop, 1985). Indeed, unlike Donnelly (1982), Battista (1990) did find that friendships and the opportunity for enhanced friendships was also an important part of the participation for the racquetball players.

Beyond their explicit function and their role as facilitators of sociability authors have written that leisure groups can be vehicles for social changes even if it is not their explicit purpose. For example, it is to be expected that a group such as ProLife is an agent of change but Janet Burke (1989) says that even in the eighteenth century, groups were changing the ways their members thought. "Masonic relationships in these lodges represented a certain kind of intense friendship generally known as Fraternity, that this profound fraternal friendship was the strongest form of Enlightenment thought experienced by these women" (p. 283). Exposure to the Enlightenment concepts of liberty and equality created in these Freemason women a budding feminism. Such ideas solidified through powerful rituals and emotional bonds to other members "made their impact on these women and altered the way they faced their day-to-day tasks" (p. 285).

Conversely, authors also write that leisure groups can serve to maintain the status quo. In the study by Davis (1986) of fishermen's wives, she observed that women's participation in community groups dominated the relational structure of Grey Rock Harbour and such groups helped to maintain the group image of the fishing subculture. Through their voluntary associations which are kept expressive rather than instrumental, women celebrate and honour the fishery and keep alive the traditions of the past.

Another study which also demonstrates how leisure groups maintain traditions and cultures looked at Mexican migration to the United States (Massey, 1986). Although the migrants belong to a variety of leisure groups in the U.S., the most important is the soccer club. All 'paisanos' or migrants belong as a right and "the practice field has become an obligatory place of reunion" (p. 106) and provides a regular place for communication and exchange.

> One of the two urban communities under study provides a particularly good example of how an organization apparently unrelated to the migrant process, a soccer club, has been adapted to serve the needs of a binational migrant community. Although its manifest functions are recreational, its latent functions are to strengthen and expand the social connections within the network, thereby supporting the migrant enterprise (p. 105).

Thus, the soccer club not only supports the Mexican traditions but also maintains the subculture peculiar to the migrants.

While maintaining cultures external to the group, leisure groups also develop their own cultures. Gary Alan Fine (1986) writes about this with respect to the workplace but it can also be applied to leisure groups. Participating in any organization puts a person in a cultural milieu. A concrete example of such a culture would be volunteer fire departments (VFD) (Perkin, 1987). Although it may be difficult to think of VFD's as a leisure group, participation is done outside paid employment although not necessarily outside work hours and is often the focal point of leisure time use (p. 344). The group is so important to members that they fill their leisure with firefighting-related activities:

training, fundraising, maintaining the equipment and the station. The culture that has emerged in the VFD is grounded in the folklore surrounding the founding of the department and the controversy over the location of the station. It involves stories of spectacular blazes, camaraderie, department pride, stereotypes and jokes about other departments and a definite pecking order among the volunteers.

Although people may be motivated to join a group, there are other factors that affect their decision. Bishop and Hoggett (1986) suggest four conditions under which the adoption of an activity or becoming involved in a group occurs. The first is opportunity. Does the person have the ability and the access to the necessary facilities, resources and finances to join? The second condition is knowledge of the nature and requirements of the activities. The third is the person's social milieu. How will the new activity affect a person's family, friends, and co-workers? The last condition is the level of a person's receptiveness or readiness to move into something new.

David Horton Smith (1980) suggests that there are six major factors that determine an individual's use of discretionary time which would include joining a leisure group. In order, the variables move from the general to the specific:

1. External Context: i) biophysical environment, ii) human population, for example the density of the population, iii) culture, iv) social structure;
2. Social Background and Social Roles: i) physique and physiology, ii) ascribed social roles, iii) achieved social roles, iv) experiences and activities, v) resources and access to resources;
3. Personality Traits and Intellectual Capacities;
4. Attitudinal Dispositions: i) values, ii) attitudes, iii) expectations, iv) intentions;
5. Retained Information: i) images, ii) beliefs, iii) knowledge, iv) plans;
6. Situational Variables: i) immediate awareness of sensations (perceptions), ii) definition of the situation.

Clearly, this is a more complex model than Bishop and Hoggett's (1986). However, it is unlikely that it helps us to understand people's decisions any better since it includes factors such as images, values, traits, and intellectual capacities that are hard to evaluate. Bishop and Hoggett's (1986) model embodies most of Smith's (1980) variables and yet is simple enough that a person (either the participant of the researcher) could easily identify and assess the relevant factors.

In conclusion, research on leisure groups has dealt with their social context, typologies, how individuals choose a group, and the culture of such groups. Also, leisure groups as vehicles for social change or social control has been examined. Most importantly for this research, the sociability offered by such groups has been discussed. Although it may not be the explicit function of the group, sociability is often an important part of the group experience in today's compartmentalized, individuated and urbanized society where there may be fewer opportunities for community and friendship.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the substantive literatures on voluntarism, sociability, and leisure groups. Extensive research has been done on opportunities for sociability in today's society and how social relations in general have been affected by modernization and urbanization. Whether the effects have been adverse or not is perhaps unclear. Yet it is obvious that people will seek to create ties with others in order to give them a sense of well-being. One of the ways people create ties with others is by joining different leisure groups. This chance for sociability is a function of the group, though usually not explicitly part of its purpose. Interaction with other participants and the relationships between members, although they may not have been the initial reason for joining, can grow to be important features of a person's involvement. Whether it is important and how important it has become probably depends both on the particular person and the group.

Reasons for joining a group, as the research on voluntarism shows, can be very complex and sometimes hard to identify even for the participants. Reasons can include: fulfilling a sense of civic obligation, career experimentation, helping others, achieving a certain standard, or creating a group product. Although people have different skills, different resources, different families and different motivations, it is likely that there are common patterns and themes surrounding their decisions to participate.

The literature shows that there are many different kinds of leisure groups which offer different experiences to their members. Several typologies included in the discussion reveal that groups can be fitted into different categories and thus are similar with respect to some criteria. I believe that groups within the same category of my typology (activity - centred, cause-centred, service-centred) offer participants similar experiences and that there will also be similarities in their reasons for joining. The literature does not address these similarities or the differences between categories.

In conclusion, my research attempts to begin to fill gaps in the literature by identifying similarities within categories and differences between categories of leisure groups in people's experiences as group members and the meaning of that participation for them.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the qualitative, ethnographic methodology used to investigate each member's experience within his or her respective group. The interview process, in general, is also discussed as well as the particulars of my own interviews.

The Interpretive Paradigm and Qualitative Approach

There are two major research methodologies or paradigms: interpretive and positivist (Henderson, 1990, p. 170). "Paradigms are axiomatic systems characterized essentially by their differing sets of assumptions about the phenomena into which they are designed to inquire" (Guba & Lincoln, 1982, p. 233). Thus, a paradigm involves how one thinks (Henderson, 1990, p. 169). Put simply, a positivist thinks that reality is external, objective, and value-free and can be separated into independent categories that form a whole. On the other hand, followers of the interpretive paradigm think that reality includes multiple realities and relationships with an emphasis on wholeness, inclusiveness, and interconnectedness. The focus is on contextual processes and meaning (p. 175).

In support of the interpretive paradigm, Hammersley (1989) writes that to understand human activity and social action "requires that we look at its development over time and at its environment, at the configuration of social factors that make up the situation in which it occurs, and the way in which these factors interact" (p. 93). Thus, the temporal context, as well as the social context is important. Actions that happen now, however, are not just determined by immediate antecedent causes but also by things that happened in the distant past and, crucially by what we envision for ourselves in the future. The temporal context, in other words, has a future dimension in which actions take on meaning in relation to the intentions and plans (no matter how sketchy), the hopes and fears that are part of our humanity.

Yet, these personal meanings that actions have are created or developed in the social and historical context in which the people live. Thus, there is a collective aspect to the plans, hopes and goals of people.

> As we research the possible meaning structures of our lived experiences, we come to a fuller grasp of what it means to be in the world as a man, a woman, a child, taking into account the socio-cultural and the historical traditions which have given meaning to our ways of being in the world (Van Manen, 1984, p. 2).

In fact, these lived experiences are "essentially the unfolding of a cultural space and its historical dimensions, so that in a strict sense we never accomplish anything except as a collective and historical project" (O'Neill, 1972, p. 233-234). Because of this consideration of "the sociocultural and the historical traditions", an interpretive researcher can critically assess society's systems, processes and institutions. Thus, the interpretive paradigm affords a measure of social critique.

The particular paradigm or "world view" held by a person will determine what research problem he or she will study. Yet every research problem has several angles that can be explored. The angle chosen will determine what paradigm is appropriate and therefore, what observations will be made (Howe, 1991, p. 51). Approaches which can be either quantitative or qualitative, address how the research is conducted (Henderson, 1990, p. 169). The qualitative approach emphasizes the insider's or participant's perspective allowing the personal meanings of the behaviour or activity to be studied in depth. The quantitative approach, on the other hand, is best suited for statistical analysis of behaviours and deals with that aspect of behaviour that is outwardly measurable and comparable with others. Thus, depending on what the researcher wants to discover, he or she should choose the appropriate approach. The choice, therefore, should be problemdriven and not method-driven. If a researcher believes that "social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful" (Walsh, 1972, p. 16), and thinks that what is important for study is the particular meaning and relevance for the human beings living and experiencing them (p. 17), then he or she must be "put in the position to learn what is meaningful to members" (Emerson, 1987, p. 75). The assumption is that the researcher "cannot determine from the outside which facts and events and which aspects of them are interpretationally relevant ..." (Walsh, 1972, pp. 17-18); only involvement with the members can clarify that. Thus, a qualitative approach to the research would be adopted.

If, however, the choice is method-driven and the quantitative approach is chosen then activities, behaviours, etc., must be operationalized in order to produce a cause-effect model for prediction. Indeed such variables can be selected for study simply because they are easily operationalized and measured (Hammersley, 1989, p. 115). When this happens important factors can be missed by the researcher. Conversely, it is also possible for a method-driven researcher to choose inappropriately the qualitative approach based on preferences for such approaches rather than the particular research problem. Thus, if research is method-driven, what actually gets studied my not be what the researcher intended or measurements are made of what is not quantifiable.

The broad research question I wanted to address was why do people join the leisure groups they do. However, based on the typology of groups that I developed, I thought the experiences of participants in the different groups within the same category would be similar. I was looking for common themes and patterns within each of the activity-centred, cause-centred, and service-centred groups. For example, I expected members of the Richard Eaton Singers and members of the Sweet Adelines to have similar thoughts and describe similar experiences. But I also expected that these activity-centred experiences would highlight different orientations and satisfactions than the descriptions and thoughts of both service-centred participants and cause-centred participants. Thus, since one of my aims was to describe why people joined the different groups they did, I wanted to understand what the participants themselves said about motivations, etc. The qualitative approach, arising from the interpretive paradigm, was the appropriate choice of a research paradigm.

Qualitative Research Methods

When using a qualitative approach, several methods can be adopted depending on the specific research question. "The commonality across all approaches is that society is explored from an epic point of view, trying to understand life from the perspective of the participants in the setting under study" (Field & Morse, 1985, p. 20). All the methods also have similar roots in anthropology. "In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some researchers began venturing into the field and gathering data personally" (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 7). This "field" was usually foreign cultures and meant that researchers learned the language and started getting close to the subjects and participating in their activities so as to discover their subjective perspectives and interpretations (pp. 10-11). The journey into the field reflected a realization of the importance in this context of trying to gain understanding from an insider's perspective. This method then began to be used to study subcultures within our own society that were "foreign" to mainstream, middle-class adults. Such "different" subcultures included youth, ethnic groups, and deviants. Thus, qualitative methods became associated with "the study of urban cultures and subcultures and deviant social worlds" (LaRossa, 1988, p. 254). Finally, such qualitative approaches became accepted for the study of everyday life. The idea was to reveal the meanings people operate by in many aspects of everyday life; for example, in occupational subcultures as well as leisure. The effect was to raise to the level of reflection things that many people take for granted in their daily lives.

Of a variety of "schools" that work from the basic assumptions of qualitative research, ethnography is empirically oriented in the sense that it involves systematic field research in relatively natural settings (Adler & Adler, 1987, p. 7). It encompasses the idea that the basis of all sociological understand is "an intuitive familiarity with the facts, which can only be acquired by watching, talking to, and interacting with people firsthand" (p. 16). To ensure that the researcher gets a real understanding of the insider's point of view "multiple methods of data gathering may be used by the ethnographer" (Field & Morse, 1985, p. 21).

These methods are "characterized by participant and nonparticipant observation, a focus on natural settings, use of participant constructs to structure the research and investigator avoidance of manipulating study variables" (McLaughlin, 1986, p. 187). "Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to ..." (Berg, 1989, p. 6). Thus, qualitative methods include interviews, participant and nonparticipant observation, archival strategies etc.

The nature of the phenomenon under investigation and the beliefs of the researcher, it has already been shown, dictates which research approach should be used. They should also dictate the specific method or methods that should be used. But beyond the type of research question posed, the research strategy also should be chosen with consideration of the amount of control the researcher has over events and whether the focus is on current or historical happenings (Yin, 1984, p. 16). In my case, I had absolutely no control and did not want to have any control of the events, namely people's memberships in groups. Also there was a mix of historical and contemporary issues I wanted to explore: why they joined the organization, how they first got involved, why they continue to be involved, the benefits they derive from their involvement, and whether the group has changed focus as either the membership or the executive has changed. Thus, because of the lack of control and the mix of past and present issues (of which there was no record), interviews with group members were chosen as the research method. Interviews were better than participant observation because I wanted to study several groups rather than one particular group, making participant observation impractical. Observation might have been another option and could have been done to supplement the interviews. However, considering the groups, this would not have added much to the discussions. For example, the choirs both meet once a week and spend the entire two and a half hours practising except for one fifteen minute break. It is not really a social time (the Sweet Adelines share glasses of water during this time) but more a time to cover choir business. Interaction is limited. The CNIB volunteers do not meet as a group ever except for receptions in their honour held once or twice a year. Most of them do their volunteer work alone or with a client on a one-to-one basis. As for Rotary, their lunch meetings each week are attended by more than two hundred people and generally the members sit with different people every week. Here again, there is some time for socializing but the business of the club and the weekly speaker take up a lot of the hour and a half long meeting. ProLife has an annual general meeting for the membership and then it has board meetings on a monthly basis. The size of the general meeting and the fact that most of the people there would not be active participants in the group beyond paying a subscription means that it would not have been very useful for my research. The board meetings might have been useful but as it turned out I did not interview any of the current board members anyway. I did attend an ABC meeting and it certainly gave me a feeling that the group was quite close and enjoyed being together. As the most "kitchen-table" sort of organization and the one with the smallest number of truly active members, it was unique in this way in comparison with the other groups.

Written records could have also been a way to add to my research. However, the kinds of written records kept by most of the groups would not have added much to my study. The exception to this might have been the Richard Eaton Singers. Angela, who puts out the choir newsletter, does an interview each month with a different choir member. However, the emphasis is on the member's personal history and not his or her thoughts on being involved.

Interview Technique and Format

Qualitative interviews exist across a continuum from structured to unstructured. While alternately being called such things as open-ended or standardized, most interviews exist somewhere between the two extremes. Structured or standardized interviews have specific questions planned in advance that are asked in a specific order by the interviewer. "The underlying rationale is that researchers have fairly solid ideas about the various things they want to uncover during the interview" (Berg, 1989, p. 15).

Conversely, with an unstructured interview, "the researcher is free to think of any or all pertinent theories and assumptions about his subject matter...What he does need is some theoretical perspective or framework for gaining conceptual entry into his subject matter..." (Schatzam & Strauss, 1973, p. 12). Thus, there are no set questions that must be asked during each interview; however there is still a conceptual framework, however simple or elaborate, that guides the interviewer.

Each unstructured or open-ended interview is a process of discovery for both the interviewer and the respondent or informant.

> The word process is used deliberately when describing the open-ended interview. It is considered a process because the researcher is exploring new territory with the informant. As this process of exploration develops the interview may be directed by the informant's responses into areas previously unanticipated by the researcher (Field & Morse, 1985, p. 65).

Thus, the agenda of each interview is changed based on what the current respondent is revealing and also based on the responses of people interviewed previously. "... Our researcher is satisfied to regard the data obtained from interviewers as a cumulative experience: the content of each interview or conversation gives form and substance to the next one" (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 75).

Each unstructured interview, therefore, is unique although they may be part of the same study or are investigating the same setting or area. "Informants are not treated uniformly but are interviewed about the things they can illuminate most. Each field situation is exploited to yield the most helpful data without unduly worrying about their comparability..." (Dean et al., 1969, p. 20).

Criticisms and Issues in Qualitative Research

However, the flexibility of the unstructured interview brings to the forefront some of the criticisms lodged against such interviews. Such criticisms fall into four major categories and revolve around the non-egalitarian nature of all interviews, the interviewees reaction to the interviewer, how the responses of the interviewee can be judged to be truthful, and bias on the part of the interviewer. No matter how open-ended or unstructured an interview is, the interviewer ultimately has control over the process even by simply dictating the topic for discussion or opening and closing the interview (Howe, 1988, p. 307). "The convention of interviewer - interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for the interviewers is not necessarily good for interviewees" (Oakley, 1981, p. 40). Thus, the interviewer governs the situation and the respondent may not get to express exactly what he or she wants and some important issues may be overlooked. To reduce this effect, the interviewer must convince the respondent that he or she really wants to hear what they have to say and the interviewer must try to give the respondents many opportunities to try to articulate whatever they feel is important.

The mere presence of the interviewer may cause reactivity on the part of the respondent and in fact, the result may be that the interviewer does not have the opportunity to study the very thing that he or she may have hoped to study and may in fact believe he or she is studying (McCall, 1969, p. 128). Even though this is an unintended influence and is guarded against, it must be recognized and considered when reporting the data (Howe, 1988, p. 307). Respondents may be saying what they feel the interviewer wants to hear, or may assume a role different from the one that he or she would normally play (Burton, 1990, p. 1). Also, informants may respond differently because of the attributes of the interviewer such as gender or race or because of the cues given by the interviewer (p. 1).

This leads directly into the third criticism that it is difficult to judge when an informant is telling the truth given the above reactions. The idea is that respondents will say things for public consumption that do not reflect what they actually feel, believe or experience (Dean & Whyte, 1969, p. 105). This particular problem is not unique to interviews but also is present in questionnaires. Although questionnaires usually claim to be anonymous, respondents still may present a picture of themselves that is not truthful. With either method, respondents can try to present themselves in ways they believe are desirable. The assumption, however, is that "there is invariably some basic underlying attitude or opinion that a person is firmly committed to, i.e., his real belief" (p. 105). Especially with unstructured interviews, what is important to the informant should come through, given that there is little direction given by the interviewer. However, the interviewer should gently question any inconsistencies that arise during the discussion.

The interviewer can also bias what the respondent says or the content of the interview.

> Since the direction the investigation takes frequently changes on the basis of the emerging data, there is great danger that the research worker will guide the inquiry in accord with wrong impressions he has gotten from the first informants contact (Dean et al., 1969, p. 21).

Further: "perhaps, too, the first hunches or hypotheses that emerge attract the field worker to instances that confirm these notions and blind them to data that point the other way" (p. 21). The interviewer must be aware of this possibility and try not to impose any ideas or responses on an interviewee. If the interviewer does not consciously try to minimize such biases, his or her results may not be an accurate portrayal of the respondent's feelings.

As long as there is recognition of all these factors and full disclosure of them in the report, interviews can bring out "the affective and value-laden aspects of respondents' responses to determine the personal significance of their attitudes" (Kidder & Judd, 1986, p. 273-274). If you think these are important data in themselves, there may be no alternative to taking the above "risks" involved in interviewing. The "alternative" is a much narrower kind of data, and hence, a portrayal of human experience that leaves much out. Once the interviews have been successfully completed and have been competently analyzed, "even if the interviewer is sufficiently knowledgeable, he may prove of little use if he is unable, under favourable conditions, to report adequately what he knows" (McCall, 1969, p. 133). This brings to light the idea that "all ethnography is translation" (Werner & Schoepfle, 1987, p. 354). "Ethnographic translation provides the reader with an understanding of the source language message in its cultural context" (p. 363). Thus, the researcher must accurately interpret the informant's message. Any discrepancy between insiders' viewpoints and the researcher's interpretation is called the "translation gap" (p. 364).

If this problem is avoided then the researcher must be able to effectively communicate that message to his or her audience. Stake (1980) says that to communicate effectively and add to all readers' understanding is to write "in a way that accommodates their present understandings" (pp. 64-65). Further: "richness in description can catch the reader's imagination and bring into play the tacit understandings that have been built up in his own form of life" (Kemmis, 1980, p. 127). Thus, when analyzing the data, the researcher cannot ignore the context of the respondent and similarly, when writing a report he or she cannot ignore the context and experiences of the readers.

The Research

In the case of this research, there were no solid ideas about what would be found, and beyond the assumptions outlined above, just a desire to understand why people joined the groups they did during their non-work hours. It has been argued that this is a good way to begin research. "Too much theoretical specification prior to beginning fieldwork has traditionally been suspect in part because it increases the likelihood of ignoring or misinterpreting the meanings that events have to members of the setting studies" (Emerson, 1987, p. 75). Underlying the general questions was the realization that different people joined groups that offered very different kinds of experiences and social interactions and addressed quite different personal needs. From this idea, my typology of leisure groups arose. I though that although each group was unique, there must be broad categories of groups that offered people similar experiences and attracted them for similar reasons. Thus, I labelled groups as activity-centred, cause-centred, or service-centred. This formed the conceptual framework for my study.

In order to reveal similarities between groups assigned to the same categories, two groups within each class were chosen to be part of the study. The service-centred groups included were the Downtown Edmonton branch of Rotary International and the Edmonton branch of the Canadian National institute for the Blind (CNIB). Rotary was chosen because it is a large, well-known service organization and I thought it to be typical of all such mediated-service groups like Kiwanis, Kinsmen, IODE, Lions Club etc.. I wanted to see if there were differences between client-based or direct-service groups and mediated-service groups since I had put them together in the same category in my typology. Most of the mediated-service organizations have traditionally been single-sex groups. In the case of Rotary this has slowly begun to change; but the Downtown Edmonton Rotary Club was formed in 1916 and has approximately 275 members of which still only about five are women. They have luncheon meetings once a week which include a speaker. To maintain their membership, people must attend at least sixty per cent of the meetings. Beyond these general meetings, there are 27 committees within the club that perform various functions such as international service, youth exchanges and membership classifications. Typically, the club raises funds through raffles and bingos etc. that it gives to various causes. The club is affiliated with Rotary International, the second largest service club in the world, which also has projects such as the attempt to eradicate polio worldwide which the Downtown Rotary supports. The CNIB was selected as the direct-service group for the study because it was similar to Rotary in that a large number of people are involved, it is part of a national organization beyond the local branch, and it is well-established with a long history. Unlike Rotary which is really a mediated-service group, the CNIB has one constituency, the visually-impaired, which it serves directly. The CNIB is the only agency in Canada that provides comprehensive services to the visually-impaired. In Edmonton, there is a professional as well as a volunteer staff. Two hundred and forty volunteers work in all levels of the organization from the Board of Directors, to running the toy library, to taking clients shopping, to reading books aloud so they can be taped. Volunteers are both sighted and visually-impaired.

The activity-centred groups I studied were the Richard Eaton Singers and the Gateway Chapter of Sweet Adelines Inc.. The same activity was used for both groups to avoid introducing more variables. Vocal music was chosen as the activity for the two groups because it offered a variety of groups from which to choose in Edmonton. Plus, music is an area in which I have knowledge and therefore I would be able to understand the "language" and interests of the participants. Also organized choirs affiliated with churches were ruled out in order to avoid dealing with religious motivation. The groups were also chosen to avoid the issues of subcultures which could have been relevant with groups such as teen rock bands and smaller groups that might be less permanent and less structured. Also, the choice of such choirs allowed for easy comparison with members of the other groups. Originally known as the University Singers, the Richard Eaton Singers, still loosely associated with the University of Alberta, is Edmonton's premiere oratorio chorus with close to 190 voices. It was formed in 1951 and has developed to the point where today they perform with the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra two or three times a year doing the large works such as Handel's "Messiah" while they also put on their own concerts of smaller pieces. Unaccompanied vocal music with its roots in American gospel is what the Sweet Adelines sing. Basically, it is the female counterpart of barbershop quartets. In fact, it was started by the wives of barbershoppers in the 1950s in the southern United States. In Edmonton, the chorus has ninety members who meet once a week to prepare for performances and competitions at both the regional and international levels.

The cause-centred groups in my study are Edmonton ProLife and Abortion by Choice. These two groups were chosen because they deal with an issue that is important to me. Also, because they have opposing views on the same issue, it allowed interesting comparisons to be made between the two sides even though both groups are within the same category in my typology. Edmonton ProLife, a group of about 3,000, is part of the Alberta ProLife Alliance and the Alliance for Life, Canada. Basically, it is a public awareness and public education organization. Except for one person, volunteers run the entire organization and occupy various roles from simply paying $20.00 for a membership, to giving public presentations, to sitting on the Board of Directors. Abortion by Choice is part of the pro-choice movement in Canada and is affiliated with the national body which is the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League. The group has a general membership of about 475 and an executive of three: president, vice-president, and secretary. Self-described as a grass roots organization, the group sees itself as having three main functions: lobbying for abortion rights, public education, and the establishment of a free-standing abortion clinic in Edmonton.

To highlight the differences and similarities between the types of groups, I had the following general questions to guide each interview:

1. Why did a person become a member of a particular group?

   a) how did he or she first hear about the group?
   b) how did he or she first become part of the group?
   c) was he or she looking for a specific type of group either with respect to activity or experience or some other characteristic?
   d) what expectations did the person have for the group when he or she joined?

2. Why does a person's membership in a group continue?

   a) what personal benefits does he or she get from being a member?
   b) is the reason for continuing participation the same as the person's reason for joining?
   c) what role does the person play within the group?
   d) how have the original expectations for the group been met or changed?

3. What does the member see as the significance of the group?

   a) what is the significance of the group to the member personally?
   b) what is the significance of the group to the community at large as seen by the member?

4. How important is the explicit function of the group to the member?

   a) how great is the tie the member feels to the function of the group?
   b) how great are the ties the members feels to other participants in the group?
   c) how has the social interaction with other participants developed beyond the function of the group?

However, these questions were not a script for the interviews but rather just a guideline which allowed relevant issues to be raised quickly (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973, p. 12). There are several reasons for this. A script of questions would have made what I wanted to be just a discussion too formal. In the case of Rotary members, all professionals accustomed to dealing with clients and strangers it might have been alright. However, I thought that some of the people I interviewed, particularly some of the CNIB volunteers and the ProLife women, would be more comfortable and therefore, would speak more freely if they could have more control over the discussion and feel more in control of the proceedings. Also, not all questions were relevant to all respondents. For example, one of the ABC women I interviewed was attending her first meeting so the questions about her role in the groups and her ties to the other members did not apply. Some interviews had definite time limits. For example, Burt from the Richard Eaton Singers is a doctor and he scheduled me in during a half-hour appointment slot so the interview was over long before I could have raised all the questions. Finally, as I went through all the interviews, I learned that even if some questions were asked, people were not going to answer them. Anne from ProLife with the anti-abortion daughter is the best example of that. She could not be swayed to talk about much else besides her daughter.

In my study, three or four people per group were interviewed. This number of interviews allowed new members and old members as well as members holding different positions within the organization to be interviewed. As contact was made with each group, I told the contact person what I wanted and he or she got a list of people willing to be interviewed. Since the contact person was always a very active member of the group, generally part of the executive, he or she invariably recruited other very active members with whom he or she had the most interaction. Or as was the case with the Rotary secretary, she knew the executive best and had their phone numbers most easily available. Thus, especially with Rotary, Abortion By Choice, and ProLife, interviews tended to be with very involved, committed, long-time members rather than more average participants. I set up appointments with each of the people on the list. The only exception to this was Abortion By Choice. In that instance, I attended a monthly meeting and interviewed four people in a room adjacent to the meeting room during the regular proceedings. I think this tended to make the interviews shorter since it seemed that the women were anxious to get back to the group which could be heard laughing and talking and obviously having a good time. Perhaps, this made their answers briefer or less thoughtful.

The volunteers met with me at a place of their choice. Interviews took place at homes, places of business, in a coffee shop, in a park, and at the CNIB downtown. It was interesting what kinds of interviews emerged from each setting. In respondents' places of business, the process tended to be much more formal, was always under a time pressure, and seemed to be less revealing. Conversely, in people's homes, the atmosphere was very relaxed. The interview or visit sometimes lasted as long as two hours and the respondents often showed me memorabilia or souvenirs of their involvement. When interviewing at the CNIB, I was able to see exactly what job the person did but there were often interruptions as I was put aside for the call of duty. The other two settings, the park and the coffee shop, were only used once each and therefore it is hard to say whether the uniqueness was due to the person or the setting. However, one thing common to both was the distraction of both the respondent and me by the people and noise surrounding us.

The difference in interviews between home and place of business also brings to light the issue of gender. No men were interviewed in their homes and only one woman was interviewed at work. Since the interview took place where the respondent decided, it could be possible that the men were more likely to have unsupervised, managerial jobs that allowed them to take time for non-work matters. Although I never found out the occupations of all the respondents, the men I did interview at work all met with me in their private offices or company board rooms. It is also possible that these men felt more comfortable--less vulnerable and more in control--in their work environment than at home. Also, they may have felt it was more appropriate to be interviewed by a young woman in a relatively public place. Conversely, the women obviously felt no threat in having another woman interview them at home. This, of course, is just reflection. Most people in our initial phone conversation asked me where I lived and then seemed to make a decision according to what would be easiest for me.

At the outset of each interview, I gave the respondent a consent form to be signed that also briefly explained my research and made clear that the interviews would be tape recorded. Then I told the respondents that there were basically three areas I wanted to cover: how they got involved, why they got involved, and what they get from their involvement. I explained that there were no set questions but that we would just follow where the conversation led us. Essentially, each interview started with the story of how the respondent got involved with the group but from there each one took a unique path. For example, one CNIB volunteer, a refugee from Ethiopia talked about her impending immigration hearing while a ProLife member went into great detail about her religious beliefs.

Only two respondents seemed uneasy during the interview ever or indeed expressed any nervousness. The first, a ProLife member, initially wanted me to ask very specific questions because she said, "I'm not very good at, you know." However, this uneasiness passed quickly and after one question she was on a roll. The second was the Ethiopian CNIB volunteer and her anxiousness understandably seemed to stem from her lack of English skills. Also, I interviewed her on the job in the toy library. It was a new position and there was another quite assertive, patriarchal, male volunteer in the room while the interview was going on. I think she felt uncomfortable answering within earshot of this man. Another factor may be that being visually-impaired makes her wary of strangers generally. She did not seem to relax very much throughout the process.

I think my age also helped to put people at ease. Younger than all but one of my respondents, my role as an interviewer was not threatening because they could think of me as a "young kid". Gender could also be relevant here. Women were comfortable because I was also a woman and the men just generally thought of me as a young girl. Thus, my age and sex combined seemed to avoid the usual problem of the interviewer-interviewee relationship which defines the interviewees as subordinates and makes "extracting information more valued than yielding it" (Oakley, 1981, p. 40). In fact, sometimes I felt subordinate. I was always conscious of the age difference and the fact that these people were doing me a big favour by being interviewed. As well, typically, I was in their usual environment which put them in a position of control or advantage. I am not sure how my age and sex affected what people actually told me. For the most part, we were discussing socially-acceptable, not overly sensitive issues. In one instance, a woman did tell me that her own abortion prompted her to join Abortion By Choice. However, no one else revealed such intimate details and I expect that no one else had any to reveal that dealt with their participation.

At times it seemed that I had very little control over the proceedings. Some respondents would get off on a tangent and no matter how I tried to re-direct them, they would always return to the topic. One particularly striking example of this was my discussion with the same ProLife woman who was nervous at the outset. As I said, she got on a roll and could not be persuaded to talk about much else besides her daughter who "has given her life to ProLife" and encouraged her mother to get involved. The daughter had recently been arrested for her demonstration activities and was in jail. Obviously, this was of great concern to my respondent and was foremost in her mind. Although this interview was exceptional, it brings to light the advantage offered by the unstructured interview that interviewees get to talk about what is important to them. However, this lack of control by the interviewer also means that some topics important to the study can be missed given the path the particular interview takes.

Because my interviews were to be unstructured and because each one was so different, I decided to just ask questions as they occurred to me or as discussion brought them up. Unfortunately, this meant that questions were not always relevant to the study and definitely were not always open-ended and well-articulated. Some interviews were better than others. Depending on the respondent and their state of mind (as was shown above) and depending on my state of mind (whether I was tired, worried, nervous, interested in what they were saying, etc.), the interview was more or less successful.

Besides the specific day and the individuals' mental states affecting the quality of the discussion, in general my skill as an interviewer improved as the interviews progressed. During the first interviews, I can be accused, in some cases, of trying to "lead the witness". Instead of just letting them talk, I directed them and at times even put words in their mouths. As my research continued, I became more comfortable and was able to pick up on more of what they were saying and probe them more deeply about what seemed important to them and to me. Also, I learned to let them talk and came to realize and accept that every interview would not deal with all my research questions.

Unfortunately, I did all my Rotary interviews first, all in the offices of the respondents and all with men evidently not at ease talking about heir feelings or experiences (if they had ever given them any thought). If I had waited and developed my skills first, these interviews might have been better.

Throughout the taped portion of each meeting, I tried to be an attentive, responsive listener and tried not to put too much of myself into the conversation. However, once the tape was off, I answered questions about my research, my motivations, etc. and often the discussion continued at length.

The preparation for each interview was not extensive. Sometimes, as was the case with Abortion By Choice, several interviews were done in one day and although little time was thus available for reflection, I felt it was better to do the interviews at the convenience of the respondent. Also, because of hectic lives, scheduling was often difficult so I took advantage of the first available and agreeable time. If time permitted, I would listen to the tape or read the transcribed manuscript of the previous interview in the same group or category as preparation. The idea was to learn from the last interview and build on it.

Data Analysis

In order to make analysis easier, each audio tape was transcribed to a manuscript. My analysis and experience of carrying it out was as described by Glaser (1969): "a continuous growth process--each stage after a time transforms itself into the next--previous stages remain in operation throughout the analysis and provide continuous development to the following stage until the analysis is transformed" (p. 220). I did a latent content analysis which is the most common type for qualitative approaches.

> Passages or paragraphs are reviewed within the context of the entire interview in order to identify and code the major thrust or intent of the section and the significant meanings within the passage. This permits the overt intent of the informant to be coded, in addition to the analysis of the underlying meanings in the communication (Field & Morse, 1985, p. 103).

This description fits exactly what I did. As I listened and transcribed and also as I reviewed the literature, various themes and issues emerged which I wrote on slips of paper and stuck to my wall. When the actual process of data analysis was about to begin, I read them over and along with my initial research questions, they guided my categorizing of my manuscripts. There were three copies of each manuscript so that one could stay intact and unmarked and two could be labelled. Two were needed incase one passage could fit into more than one category. On the initial reading and labelling, just general descriptions such as family, work, history, etc., were written in the margins. Simply reading over the manuscripts increased my familiarity with their content and gave me some ideas for themes. From this initial process, major categories were established.

The manuscripts were cut up (labelling each piece with the group and name of the respondent) and put in a file for the appropriate category. Then the contents of each file were analyzed separately to find sub-categories. Finally, the major categories and sub-categories were examined in order to compare the different groups and the different types of groups.

Conclusion

The broad research problem I wanted to address was what reasons do people have for joining the leisure groups they do and what is their experience as a member of that group. In other words, what is the meaning people attach to their participation in their groups? The underlying idea was that different types of groups attract people for different reasons and offer different experiences. Therefore, because the research problem suggested field research with members of different groups and emphasized the insider's or member's perspective on his or her involvement, a qualitative, ethnographic methodology was chosen. Even considering the criticisms such as interviewer bias and control and interviewee reactivity, interviews were the most appropriate method for my research. A number of members of several groups could thus be studied in a short time while still allowing enough depth to pursue the participants' personal meanings. The unstructured nature of the interviews allowed each respondent to discuss the issues most important to him or her. Three or four members of each group were interviewed. Reflecting my typology, the activity-centred groups in the study were the Richard Eaton Singers and the Sweet Adelines; the service-centred groups were the CNIB and Rotary and the cause-centred groups were ProLife and Abortion By Choice.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STORY OF INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

The presentation of my data is organized around three major themes: the story surrounding a person's involvement, the benefits derived from the experience, and the sociability associated with the involvement. Each theme is further divided into sub-categories which reflect the things that the members of the different groups discussed. Although it is not possible to deal with all the data, these sub-categories represent major patterns of interest from the interviews. The first theme, the Story of Involvement, shows the personal context in which people's participation occurs. It discusses involvement in terms of their pasts and their hopes and objectives for themselves in the future (i.e., what I described in the last chapter as temporal context). This broad theme leads directly into the others which deal more specifically with the actual experience of the group involvement. The second theme, Benefits and Pleasure, describes the specific enjoyment and experiences from their involvement that people value. It also details how, in the eyes of the participants, the community benefits from the group. The third and final theme deals specifically with the sociability benefits that the people I interviewed experience as members of these groups. This connects back to the literatures on sociability and friendship in leisure groups discussed in chapter two.

The names of all the participants have been changed. The people from each group have been given names alphabetically according to the order in which they were interviewed. For example, the Richard Eaton Singers who were interviewed are called Angela, Burt, Cora, and Dana.

Family Experiences

The Story of Involvement covers four sub-categories. The first brings to light the impact a person's family has on participation. Family in this case deals with the person's childhood family experiences and his or her current family situation. Many of the people I interviewed talked about events or experiences from their childhood that either led to the development of a particular skills or an idea of what the role of an adult involved.

When discussing their childhoods, people talked about the values they learned from their parents, the examples set by their parents with respect to public involvement. With respect to the activity-centred groups, people talked of their early development of music skills and appreciation. Alternatively, a ProLife volunteer described values instilled in her as a girl by her mother. "She taught me that you don't give yourself to any Tom, Dick or Harry, that you reserve yourself for the man that you're going to marry and he'll respect you and love you" (Anne, ProLife). Values such as these passed on to Anne, created in her a belief in the sanctity of marriage, the importance of children and the family unit and consequently from these values, her ProLife stance emerged.

Other people I interviewed who were involved in service- or cause-centred groups learned more from their parents' examples rather than the explicit teaching of values. In particular, CNIB and ProLife volunteers' parents had been involved in community leagues, Meals-on-Wheels and other groups. This offers support for socialization theories of voluntarism (Schram, 1985). However, some people did say that their parents were not involved in the community and one Rotarian had a strong reaction to that.

> I always had the perception that my dad was a bit of a stay-at-home. He had six kids as well and a very busy job but he never got involved outside the home. I always questioned though why he didn't do that...I for some reason made a conscious decision when I was young that I'd be more active than my dad outside the home (Cal, Rotary).

The activity-centred people that I interviewed (except one) all described the development of their music skills or appreciation during their childhood. Either music had been a big part of their homelife or their families had provided them with some music training.

> My father was completely untrained as a musician and yet I think I got my great passion for music from him. He used to love music and I can remember on Saturday afternoons, my job was to polish all the brass and silver in the house and the Metropolitan Opera was always on 'cause my dad loved it so much (Angela, Richard Eaton Singers).

This woman grew up during the Depression so there was no money for a piano or any type of music lessons. However, she did sing in the church choir which helped nurture her talents and her love of music. Most respondents, in fact, sang in church choirs in their youth.

One Sweet Adeline singer, Bess, came from an almost completely unmusical family. However, when she did show some talent and an interest, her parents provided her with piano and voice lessons. They were very supportive and spent years seeing her through competitions, and recitals. The event that triggered her involvement as a child was a school operetta in grade five. Bess sang a solo and the local music teacher heard her and approached her mother about enrolling Bess in lessons.

The exception to this pattern of the childhood appreciation and skill development is a man who sings with the Richard Eaton Singers. Although his parents tried to encourage his involvement in music, in his own words, he would not be "pushed" into it. Only after he finished medical school did he come to realize that the "arts" side of his education had been neglected and he joined a university mixed chorus. In these ways, people's current involvement in different groups was affected by the experiences of their childhood and the examples set by their parents.

People also discussed with me how their current family situations affected and continue to affect their participation. Several women talked about staying home after giving up jobs to raise their children, and looking for something to fill their time. When asked if she had been looking for something to do, Barb from ProLife said, "Oh yes, because I was a mother at home with two little kids and I was bored to death. And I knew I would never go to work full-time because my kids would have to go to daycare."

Another woman, over sixty years of age, who had not worked outside the home since she was married and who had no intention of working gave a different story about the emptiness after her children were almost grown. "I was either thirty-nine or forty and I made a lot of changes in my life at that time. I had a half-raised family, five kids that had kept me busy at home, you know" (Angela, Richard Eaton Singers). The other women were looking for something to do because they had given up their jobs while Angela's job as a full-time mother was almost over. The difference between these women, all under forty and Angela reflect the change in women's roles in the work force (Barber, 1980; Smith-Lovin, 1986).

One man's discussion also revealed these changes in the role of women. His wife had just recently returned to work after taking eight years off to stay at home with their daughter. Because she had gone back to teaching when formerly she would have continued to stay at home, his role in Rotary had to be somewhat diminished.

> She is now back into the workforce as a professional teacher and she's sort of like where I was ten years ago so she kind of took a long time to enter into her career. So I'm kind of backing off on my time pressures (Cal, Rotary).

Because Cal's wife had gone back to work, he had to adjust his own participation when formerly a husband may have had less responsibility for the household and the children.

Only one person I interviewed joined the group with her spouse. They both joined the Richard Eaton Singers in 1980 soon after moving to Edmonton. At that point, the choir was in great need of male voices so her husband was specifically recruited by another member. However, they both auditioned and were accepted. Her husband dropped out after a few seasons, because the travelling he did for work made it impossible for him to meet the attendance requirements. Perhaps since this couple was the exception and tried to be involved together, and since most of the people I interviewed were married, it might be said that people's community involvement is something they undertake for themselves and thus on their own. Or perhaps it was just the nature of the groups I studied since ProLife, ABC, Sweet Adelines, and Rotary are all predominantly single-sex groups and would preclude joining as a couple.

Another woman's involvement was triggered by her daughter's participation. The daughter joined the ProLife group at her high school in Toronto and demonstrated at the Morgentaler clinic. Initially, the mother would go with her to demonstrate and finally because of the guilt instilled in her by her daughter, when she moved to Edmonton, she officially joined ProLife Edmonton. "Well, she kind of made me feel guilty that I should be doing more--not just buying cards at Christmas and contributing" (Anne, ProLife).

In these various ways, the people I interviewed described to me how their childhoods and their current family situations affected their involvement in their respective groups.

Why?

This sub-category deals more specifically with why people got involved and to some extent why they remain involved without getting into the particular benefits which will be dealt with as a theme on its own.

Most of the singers were either directly or indirectly attracted to their groups because of previous experience with singing. For example, Burt (the late-blooming singer) searched out the Richard Eaton Singers as soon as he moved to Edmonton because he had sung in oratorio choirs right up until he moved. Annette had been a member of Sweet Adelines in Penticton and Calgary and wanted to continue the experience in Edmonton. Angela from the Richard Eaton Singers also wanted to sing in a group because of her involvement in other choirs. She wanted to sing more of the great choral works.

> I just wanted to sing. I wanted to sing the great choral works. I knew enough about singing and you know some of the highlights of my life have been singing. I guess Richard Eaton really turned me on to choral music because I sang in the mixed chorus when I was at university under him. He was a wonderful conductor and I can remember every note of all the pieces I sang under him.

It is interesting to note that for these people, the desire to get involved surrounded the music itself; the joy of singing, learning new works, achieving a standard and performing, rather than the sociability benefits of being part of a group which is an important part of the experience for others such as Bess and Dana. They wanted to sing in a group but their reasons for joining were to meet people since they were both new to Edmonton.

> I had just moved to Edmonton. I'd only been here six or seven months and I didn't really know anybody and I wanted to get out of the house. So that was why I went out and it was singing because I'd done singing in high school and in church, doing solos and stuff like that (Bess, Sweet Adelines).

Dana, from Sweet Adelines, put it this way:

> When we first moved from Ontario I was pregnant and had been working and I found it really lonely. I was home alone, a new baby so I decided when we moved again I wouldn't just let it go. I'd get out and look for something.

Thus, for Bess as well as for Dana, singing was a skill they already had which would allow them to get involved in something in order to create ties with people that were lacking in their new lives. Bellah et al. (1985) would say that the choirs provide communities of interest for Bess and Dawn and allow them to create a network of relations based on more than just living in the same city. Bender (1978) says that community based on neighbourhoods and place of residence is no longer possible but groups such as Sweet Adelines or the Richard Eaton Singers based on having something more in common are a modern source of community.

Cathy, a member of the Sweet Adelines chorus, was also looking specifically for a singing group yet for still another reason.

> After I finished my master's degree I was dying for something to do that was non-school, non-academic and just for me, you know, just something totally different. I'd always liked to sing and I wanted to find a singing group.

This emphasizes what Bishop and Hoggett (1986) write about people joining groups to compensate for things lacking at work.

Finally, Cora, another member of the Richard Eaton Singers, wanted specifically to join a singing group to keep her voice in shape.

> I know that the voice needs to remain active as do other parts of the body to maintain a level of performance or perfection and one way to do this is either to take voice lessons, to be involved in a singing group doing things professionally or semi-professionally or involved in something voluntarily and so a friend of mine was in the Richard Eaton Singers, suggested I try out, I did and was accepted.

These last few women, Bess, Dawn, Cathy and Cora offer support for Bishop and Hoggett (1986) who write that for a lot of people their reason for joining a group is more than a simple wish to do the activity.

As for the Rotary men, none of them really admitted to searching out membership in Rotary probably because it is club policy that you must be asked to join. Cal, however, did say that he was a little more proactive in that he let Rotarians he had met on other committees know that he was interested in joining. He wanted to be a member because he like working with what he called "high achievers, people who accomplish things."

> Well, I belong to a karate group but it's not the same. The people you meet at those things are at various levels of... The advantage of a service group [is] you're generally with high achievers, people who accomplish things; where you don't get that kind of thing necessarily in an activity group.

Cal saw Rotary as an opportunity to work with other people who made things happen. Basically, he wanted to continue the experience he had had on the committee to get the Edmonton Convention Centre built and the Spirit of Edmonton committee that was responsible for bringing the Grey Cup game to Edmonton. Other men gave the Rotary line and said when they were asked to join it was an honour and they saw it as an "opportunity to meet people from different walks of life" (Alan, Rotary).

Chris from the CNIB talked about a duty to help other people. "I suppose I'm a bit naive but I believe we have an obligation to help other people and I've benefitted from society and I think I owe it to help other people if I can." Thus for him the sense of duty almost comes from a sort of debt to society; because people have coached him in soccer or led his scout troop, he should contribute to society in some way in return. This offers support for Fitch (1987) who writes that some people volunteer out of a sense of social obligation in order to repay a debt to society. When discussing the source of this feeling of obligation he said, "I don't know exactly where it comes from; if it's a combination of religion and my political views or [if] my religion and social views result in my political views." Even if he can not pinpoint it, there is some sort of religious factor involved. Here Chris gives voice to many of the dimensions of civic spirit and getting involved discussed by Bellah et al. (1985). In fact, Chris is very similar to Mary Taylor of Habits of the Heart. Mary also comes from a family with strong religious beliefs and parents that provided an example of community service. She says, "It is important for all people to live as happy persons. The way to do that is to recognize a debt to society" (pp. 192-193). Mary goes further than Chris by saying that people cannot achieve happiness simply by serving themselves.

The other members of the CNIB gave different reasons why they got involved. Two of the CNIB volunteers were first involved with the agency as clients. Doris, an Ethiopian refugee, was waiting for an immigration hearing when I interviewed her. Since she was as yet unable to get a paid job in Canada, she was volunteering as the secretary of the toy library at the CNIB in order to learn how an office here is run. Doris saw it as a way to gain experience and prepare for the Canadian workforce. This connects back to Fitch's (1987) study of college students who volunteered in order to prepare themselves for careers. Bill, on the other hand, wanted to be able to use his tools again after he lost his sight but there was no such programme in Edmonton at the time.

> They taught them mobility, cooking, housekeeping: the home skills, and Braille and music if they wanted but they had nothing in the line of mechanics. So I complained about it because I wanted to get my skills back so I said, "Well, you know I feel it should have this, this and this and then you could even..."

In Calgary, he had been to the CNIB's industrial shop but he felt it was the wrong thing for a blind person; that they needed something more along the lines of home maintenance. His proposal for such a programme and a workshop was accepted and he now runs it in Edmonton.

The final CNIB volunteer did not actually say why she joined except that she saw an ad for volunteers in the newspaper. I suspect, however, that her children were grown and she, like Angela, was looking for something to do. She talked about wanting something different even though she had a busy home life and had stayed at home for eighteen years raising her family.

> I was at home for 18 years after I got married and had a family and for the first 13 years, I helped my husband with his books but then after I didn't have to do that anymore I discovered art and I took classes at the extension department for 12 years. I also became a docent at the Edmonton Art Gallery and I became quite well known in the art community. But still I just felt I wanted something else to do... (Alice, CNIB).

It would seem that Alice spent a long time looking for something fulfilling after her role in her husband's business was over and her children were grown. She appears to have found it at the CNIB where she works five days a week as the volunteer co-ordinator.

Most of the women who were involved with either of the cause-centred groups discussed becoming sensitized to the issue. For three of the Abortion By Choice (ABC) women, the Chantal Daigle case was the catalyst that made them get involved. Chantal Daigle was a pregnant woman in Quebec who wanted to have an abortion. Her boyfriend got an injunction to stop her. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada and they decided that the "particular provision of the criminal code was an infringement of her right to liberty, security of the person, etc. under the Charter" (Doreen, ABC). All three of these women had always been concerned with women's issues and women's rights and were angered that abortion might again be considered criminal and that uninvolved parties could be involved in the decision whether or not to terminate a pregnancy. In her discussion of Chantal Daigle which captures the feelings of all three women, Doreen said to me, "I was absolutely horrified that these things were being done to women, you know that they were being denied self-determinism so I sort of got involved with the group at that point" (Doreen, ABC). About Chantal Daigle, Cassie said:

> That's what sort of galvanized me to take some sort of action and I contacted the group and said, "I'd really like to get involved" and at the time, they were having an influx of people who felt the same way.

These ABC women are similar to what Bellah et al. (1985) call professional activists. Professional activists see the community as a variety of self-interested groups and individuals trying to get their share of the interests. Unfortunately, power in our society is not equally distributed so the less powerful groups and individuals do not receive as many of society's benefits as they should (pp. 190-191). Professional activists try to empower these less fortunate groups so they are able to get their fair share. For the ABC women, it is women in general who have less power. Doreen describes this imbalance of power in the context of the abortion issue.

> When I saw that there was sort of a real threat out there, that men were doing this to women and it is men doing this to women for the large part. It's male judges, it's male doctors, it's male boyfriends, it's male lovers.

Further she said:

> Women were being told what to do with their own bodies by people who had no particular interest in the proceedings. They were being told by doctors and judges who didn't even know them and then they were in abusive situations, so men were forcing them to do things against their will and I thought that was completely abhorrent.

Cassie also alluded to the imbalance of power.

> I really don't believe that you can profess to love an unborn child, a fetus or any kind of product of conception without loving the person who created it or was a part of creating it and until people can truly respect women, I don't totally buy the idea that their only motive is the saving of an unborn child.

Cassie and Doreen's involvement in ABC is their contribution to the empowerment of women.

The other ABC woman I interviewed had had an abortion in British Columbia more than nine years ago. It had been a relatively easy, uncomplicated, stress-free procedure. Last year, a friend of hers had great difficulty getting an abortion in Edmonton. She had a long wait which made the ordeal quite agonizing. The ABC member, as a result of her friend's unfortunate experience as compared to her own, became sensitized to the issue and saw a need for greater access to abortions in Edmonton.

> I had a girlfriend last year from Inuvik who needed to have an abortion and it was just very traumatic for her. You know, she had to come down here, come as an in-patient into the hospital, spend the night here...It was extremely painful. It was just a horrible experience for her and I was just shocked because, you know, nine years ago, mine was in a clinic and it was simple and less traumatic for sure (Brenda, ABC).

Two of the ProLife women I interviewed discussed how they became aware of the abortion issue. As a prelude to her involvement in ProLife, Anne who had always been against abortion also became more sensitized to it through her teenage daughter who was active in her school's ProLife group. "So I've always been against abortion but I didn't realize that, you know, I used to hear about abortion and think it was a dreadful, dreadful thing but I didn't realize that millions of babies are murdered every single year" (Anne, ProLife). The other ProLife woman who discussed this topic with me, again had always been against abortion but it was not until she went to a lecture sponsored by her church that she became sensitized and was prompted to action.

> I was attracted by the issue: that something wasn't right here and that's what made me go to this meeting at the church that they invited everybody to, to just become better informed and my eyes were opened that night that this isn't right and then once I knew what the issue was I couldn't sit back anymore and do nothing (Barb, ProLife).

For Barb, becoming sensitized to the issue created this feeling of duty. Several people talked about such a sense of obligation that caused them to get involved with their cause-centred or service-centred group. Chris from the CNIB is one example already given. For the ProLife women, this obligation was tied to their religious beliefs. "I guess I realize that I've been called to do this and I'm just answering the Lord's call back. This is where He would have me do some of my work, some of my volunteer time" (Barb, ProLife).

Doreen, from ABC, perhaps saw it as more a duty to herself to become involved.

> If you believe in something, it's not of any value just to say you believe in something. Either you're prepared to fight for what you believe or try to convince people to your way of thinking or change things or you know you're basically a hypocrite. There's no point in having a belief if you're not prepared to stand up for it.

For Doreen, because she acted on her beliefs it gave them a certain validity and gave her a licence to talk about them. "It gives me a sense of validity when I speak about these issues because I'm not someone who is just mouthing off and not doing anything about it."

This discussion of duty or obligation brings to light the personal value systems people shared with me during the interviews. Although Chris from the CNIB did talk about values, it was the women from the two cause-centred groups who articulated their value systems to me most fully as well as illustrating that these values extend beyond this specific group to all areas of their lives. For the women in ProLife, their value systems all originated in their religion and had grown to include the traditional family as the basis for society, chastity, etc. Christy talked at great length about her values which are reflected in all her community involvement. Besides being the head of the Speakers' Bureau for ProLife, she is also the vice-president of the Alberta Federation of Women United for Families and also teaches pre-natal classes to inner-city expectant mothers. Although English is not her first language, it is possible to get an idea of her values and what they encompass in her discussion of the Federation.

> We believe in traditional Judeo-Christian values that we want preserved in our society for we feel it strengthens families. So basically to strengthen families in any way that is possible and that is through ProLife support but it also means we are basically against pornography, peep shows and all that, sex education programmes in the schools (for we feel it is brainwashing our kids the wrong way, like they get information they're not ready for, often they don't even want), pay equity, child tax credit. We want to encourage mothers who want to stay home to be able to do that for at the moment, there is a financial disadvantage for they only get what $200 a year tax credit while the people get $4000 in child care.

In a similar way, three of the ABC women have personal value systems that were revealed to me and that extend beyond their involvement in Abortion By Choice. The women are all avid feminists, concerned with all women's rights and all women's issues. Doreen, for example, mentioned being involved in the midwife debate as well as the abuse of women by their male doctors. Andrea, another ABC member, is also involved in an organization called Public Awareness of Sexual Stereotyping and Pornography and is a volunteer at the Sexual Assault Centre in Edmonton.

These shared values, according to Doreen, create a women's fraternity or network in Edmonton that can be mobilized to deal with issues as they arise.

> You can take them from this group and say, "Hey, what about his other issue that needs to be addressed?" and you can easily drum up a bunch of people that you know from one group who say, "Yeah, let's form another group and deal with this other issue." So there's a lot of interplay between the same sort of women. You know, there's sort of a women's community out there.

In conclusion, a certain value or set of values and becoming sensitized to the issue, spurred the women to join their respective cause-centred groups. In some cases the sensitization created a sense of duty to join. One CNIB volunteer, Chris, was also prompted to get involved because of a sense of duty although his obligation was more to the community or society as a whole rather than to a specific issue. Bill also felt an obligation (with some interest in getting his skills back) to help other clients of the CNIB do something that he felt was important for them.

Chris and Bill and the others who felt an obligation are like Joe Gorman in Bellah et al.'s (1985) Habits of the Heart. Joe feels a very strong sense of responsibility to his community of Suffolk, Massachusetts. For example, when the town's 250th anniversary was approaching, "Joe Gorman knew that he had the ability to organize the celebrations successfully and he felt a kind of duty to do whatever he could he help" (p. 9). Under his direction, the celebrations were considered by everyone (including Joe) to be a great success. To Joe, they were successful because of the experience of togetherness created within the community. This feeling of community and Suffolk itself are very important to Joe. In fact, he turned down a promotion that would have involved a move to Houston. He says, "I was born here. My father set up the athletic program at Suffolk High. Friendship alone with the people would keep me here. We will always stay here. It is my home" (p. 11). Bellah et al. (1985) would agree with Bender (1978) that this "nostalgic" Suffolk described by Joe does not really exist. Perhaps because such towns no longer exist in today's society, Bill and Chris and the others choose to serve different types of communities in order to fulfill their sense of civic responsibility.

For these people, Bill, Chris, and the ABC and ProLife women, as Moore (1985) and Schram (1985) say at least part of their motivation is altruistic. As for the other people I interviewed, their motivations seem to be more self-interested ranging from sociability for the Rotary men and some of the choir members to a desire for job experience for Doris in the CNIB.

How?

This sub-section deals with the actual process of how the person got involved with his or her particular group.

Several people I interviewed had contacts in the groups before they joined. Chris from the CNIB had a friend whose mother worked at the agency. Chris wanted to do some kind of volunteer work and he felt more comfortable phoning someone he knew in order to get involved. Similarly and obviously, considering the Rotary system, the Rotarians knew people in the club and were proposed as members by them; Bob by his father-in-law and Dave by his business partners. Doreen from ABC also knew members of the group before she joined.

Bess had a contact in the Sweet Adelines who made it much easier for her to join in light of the fact that she is very shy. It was by chance and slightly ironic that Bess met Dana.

> I met her at a Christmas party and it was very coincidental 'cause I had just finished saying to my aunt that I wanted to get back into singing and she mentioned Sweet Adelines and I go, "I don't have a local contact." Like the next day I met Dana. "Well, I have to check this out. This is just too much of a coincidence."

Cathy, also a Sweet Adeline, had a similar experience. When she was finished her master's degree and was looking to start singing again, her mother suggested Sweet Adelines. Shortly thereafter by chance, she worked on a committee with a woman who was a member of the chorus. The woman was very enthusiastic and encouraged Cathy to get involved.

Other people I interviewed also seemed to end up in their activity-centred groups by chance. For example, Dana accidentally came across a promotional flyer for Sweet Adelines at the public library and decided to get involved. When Angela was looking for a singing group where she could sing the classic choral works there were only two such groups in Edmonton: the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra and the Richard Eaton Singers. "I called the Edmonton Symphony Chorus for an audition. They took my name and said they'd get back to me and they didn't and that's the only reason that as a second choice I called the University Singers." Having been a member for more than twenty years and enjoying it so much, Angela "counts her blessings" that things worked out as they did especially since the Edmonton Symphony Chorus folded a few years later.

People were also directly or indirectly recruited by the groups. A man who sang in Dawn's church choir was told by the Richard Eaton Singers to ask any singers he knew to join because a choir was visiting from England during the summer, a time when numbers usually drop off. Being new to Edmonton, Dawn and her husband decided to join as a way to meet people. Alice, on the other hand, responded to an ad in the newspaper looking for someone to read aloud for the visually-impaired at the CNIB. Similarly, after hearing the presentation at her church where she got on the ProLife mailing list, Barb responded to an article in the newsletter looking for someone to be in charge of the telephone tree. The telephone tree consists of phoning general members of ProLife to get them out to various functions and marches.

Finally, some people phoned the specific group they joined without any contact or any attempt by the group to recruit them. This is true of three ABC members, Burt of the Richard Eaton Singers, and Christy and Anne of ProLife. Anne (with the ProLife daughter) promised herself she would get involved as soon as she moved to Edmonton from Toronto. She said that even though her daughter was always after her to do more, she was a great procrastinator but she promised herself that when she arrived in Edmonton she would phone and volunteer her services. She called her first day in the city.

To summarize, it would seem that people who sought out the group on their own are few. This supports Bishop and Hoggett's (1986) findings that most people do not consciously search for a specific group (p. 66). Some responded to attempts to recruit members or volunteers while most had a friend or some sort of contact in the group. This would appear to support the findings of the 1975 national survey of Canadians which found that parents and friends were the biggest influence in terms of getting people involved in volunteering and that more than half of the people surveyed said that if asked they would get involved (Carter, 1975).

Awareness and Expectations

Almost everyone I interviewed talked about having some knowledge of their group before they joined either from some time in the past or since their arrival in Edmonton. For example, Dana from the Sweet Adelines said, "I'd heard of the men's group: the men's barbershop...Somewhere along the line I must have heard of the women's group and I always enjoyed their music." When asked whether he had always known about the CNIB, Chris talked about being a child in England. "In England, they had a different organization. Obviously, it wasn't CNIB. I was always aware of its existence. You know you have those little boxes where you can put a couple of pennies in. So I was always aware of the guide dog programmes and stuff." Cora learned about the Richard Eaton Singers when she moved from Calgary. "I guess I knew that this group existed. I mean the name was somewhat familiar to me." All the Rotary men (except Cal with the stay-at-home father) knew about the club from their childhood because they had relatives who were members: Dave's uncle, Alan's father and Bob's father who was Rotary's District Governor in Western Canada.

The awareness of the groups created in people certain expectations of what the groups would be like. For example, Bess in Sweet Adelines, a young woman in her late twenties, "had a misconception about them being all old ladies." Anne from ProLife thought the group would be full of violent fanatics. "The only things you ever hear of in the media about these irrational ProLife people and I thought, 'Well, where are these lunatics?'" Cal also had some misconceptions. Previously, he had shied away from service groups because of spoofs he had seen on television about them. He thought they all involved funny hats, and other such gimmicks and rituals. All these expectations dealt with the clubs in general and not the specific branch or group the person was going to join.

However, Barb and Cassie both thought their particular opposing cause-centred groups would be more organized and developed than they were. Barb could not believe that ProLife Edmonton was such a small group.

> I never realized it was such a small group. I thought it was larger. I couldn't believe that there weren't more people fired up about this. I couldn't believe that the membership when I joined was only 175. That just appalled me. I just couldn't see how people couldn't even buy a ten-dollar membership to support something like this.

Cassie thought ABC would have a set mandate with a set plan of action.

> I thought it would be a lot different than it was. I thought it would be a fairly organized, well-run collection of people who had a set mandate and had a goal and an idea of how to get there. That wasn't really what I discovered which made perfect sense to me because it's an issue even within the choice movement across Canada. The idea that there wasn't one mission statement, glory-above-all didn't detract at all from the group in any way. It was just different from

> the way I thought it would be (Cassie, ABC).

What she means is that her expectations were not met but because a lot of members have different perspectives on abortion, it is understandable and perhaps even good that there is not a set policy or strategy. It allows them to focus on what they have in common rather than what divides them.

Bob also described to me what he expected the Downtown Rotary club to be like. He thought the members would be younger and that they would have more activities like corn roasts, carol singing and family days. Instead he found the club to have older, more prestigious members who raised money which they donated to various causes. He did not seem disappointed that this was the case and has been a member for 25 years.

People also had expectations not only about what the groups would be like but also what their roles in the groups would be like. Consistent with her motivation which was to keep her voice in shape, Cora thought as a Richard Eaton Singer, she would "sing louder, higher more times." Instead, she found the conductor emphasized quality and intonation among other things and believed in saving the voice from the possible damage of over-exertion.

Other people never imagined they would become so involved. Alice, after eleven years of working at the CNIB, said to me, "I truly thought I would just work for a year or so just for a change." Bess from Sweet Adelines was also surprised how involving the chorus was. "I just thought it would be like going singing every Tuesday with the odd performance here and there. I didn't realize how intense, how demanding it is." She is now on the executive of the chorus as the marketing co-ordinator. The last example of someone who did not expect to be so involved shows the depth of the commitment people feel to their involvement. Barb of ProLife said this: "I never expected it to, it doesn't run my life but it certainly focuses on a large part of my life."

Except for the ABC women, all the people I talked to did not anticipate their involvement ending. The ABC women could foresee a time when the clinic was fully operational and free of controversy which would mean that there would be no need for their group. The strongest commitment was shown by the ProLife women who felt they would be involved in the cause for life regardless of whether they moved away from Edmonton or not.

Even given that their expectations were not met, all these people remain involved in their groups and some have been members or volunteers for years and years. The benefits that must be present in order to keep them involved that perhaps are not the ones they anticipated will be dealt with under the second theme.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this theme of the Story of Involvement has covered four sub-sections: family experiences that affected involvement, why participants got involved, how they got involved and the awareness and expectations they had for the group. Essentially, the theme describes the process of getting involved with the group. The sub-sections can be related to Bishop and Hoggett's (1986) four conditions under which involvement will occur or to Smith's (1980) six factors that determine an individual's use of discretionary time. The singers all had the necessary skills or previous experiences that equipped them for their groups as is mentioned in both models. The social milieu is also mentioned by Smith, and Hoggett and Bishop and is supported in my interviews by people talking about their family roles and their friends who got them involved. While Hoggett and Bishop write about knowledge of the nature and requirements of the activities, Smith writes about values, attitudes and expectations and all come through in my discussions with the group members as affecting their involvement.

Most of the people I interviewed got involved with their groups because of the benefits participation offered them. This supports the findings of Bellah et al. (1985).

"Most people say they get involved in social institutions to achieve their self-interests or because they feel an affinity with certain others" (p. 167). For example, Doris wanted job experience, Cora wanted to keep her voice in shape, and Cal definitely felt an affinity for the "movers and shakers" of Rotary. However, Chris and Bill from the CNIB and the ABC and ProLife women were involved because of a sense of obligation. To further draw on Bellah et al. (1985), these people recognize their interconnectedness, the fact that they are bound to other members of society. This knowledge is the source of their sense of obligation (p. 194). In general, Bellah et al. (1985) found that although people "still get involved in an astounding variety of voluntary associations" (p. 177) this participation is no longer the result of a sense of social responsibility. Thus, Bellah et al. (1985) would agree with Sim (1981), Barber (1980) and Ignatieff (1984) that in today's society, people feel less connected to each other and therefore, not as responsible for each other.

In summary, the Story of Involvement has shown us why and how people got involved and what they expected their experience to be like. The next theme will describe what the members and volunteers actually get out of their involvement.

CHAPTER FIVE

BENEFITS AND PLEASURE

Because the benefits derived from participation in all the groups are so varied, there are many sub-sections for this theme. The benefits are different between the different categories of groups as well as between individual groups. Each member also experiences some unique benefits. Specific benefits relating to sociability will be left as a theme on its own.

Escape

Women in the activity-centred groups talked about singing in a choir offering them an escape.

> I think the biggest benefit of rehearsal is that you walk into the church and you tick off your name and when you tick off your name saying that you're here, you leave your life at the door and it's a nice way to get away from your life just for a few hours (Bess, Sweet Adelines).

Similarly, Angela from the Richard Eaton Singers said:

> There'll be times when you think, "Oh, it's thirty below or it's something, I don't want to go" but then you go because that's what you do on Tuesday evenings and you come out, you come floating out two and a half hours later and for two and a half hours all that stuff in your personal life has just vanished and you've just focused on music.

Thus, for Angela and Bess practising with the choirs suspends all their concerns for the duration of the rehearsal so they are living just for the moment.

No one from any of the other groups mentioned their participation offering them an escape or an involvement that is so engrossing and enjoyable that they are able to forget their problems.

Flow

Another benefit particular to the activity-centred groups is the experience of flow. Flow is a kind of transcendence and refers to the holistic sensation present when a person acts with total involvement. It is a feeling which makes one say: "that was fun", or "that was enjoyable" (Mitchell, 1983, p. 153). The emphasis on total involvement is connected to the idea of practices offering participants an escape and some people did experience "flow" during rehearsals. For example, I asked Angela of the Richard Eaton Singers, "What does it feel like when you stand there at practice and you hear all those voices around you?" And she said, "It's a tremendous high. It's just a great joy that's what it is, a great joy." However, words like "joy" and "high" and "rush" and "elation" were more commonly used by various participants to describe the feeling of performing in front of an audience. When describing performing at the Sweet Adelines' international championships in Salt Lake City, Bess clearly conveyed to me that she had experienced "flow".

> You just can't describe the feeling of being backstage and having all our supporters from the region cheering, "Gateway, Gateway, Gateway." It was just like [BIG SIGH]. Your heart skips a beat and your stomach turns over and your nerves take over and then we get past the nerves and we settle down and the next thing you know it's over and it's like, "No, it can't be over."

Only one person found performing to be unpleasant and that was Cora of the Richard Eaton Singers. She found it very stressful and said to me, "I don't think you ever feel that you've ever sung well...You never sort of feel like you couldn't have done more."

Be Yourself

This "Be Yourself" sub-section was only mentioned by women in an activity-centred group and indeed, it was only members of Sweet Adelines who discussed it. However, they all mentioned it in some way or another. Two of the women, Cathy and

Annette, talked about doing it for themselves and not having to worry about anyone else. Bess captures this idea while expressing it more explicitly. "Like it's a place for women to go and be women but not the stereotypes, or not to be a mother or a sister or a wife or a girlfriend. You just go and be yourself." Dana articulated it a different way by saying that you could be yourself because the group accepts you the way you are and it allows you to take risks which lets you get to know yourself.

> You also get to know yourself. It's a very supportive group so you can take a lot of risks...So I mean you get up and you make mistakes and you know mess up your lines and all that stuff and people laugh along with you.

This last reference is to her taking on the role of president that involved speaking to the chorus as a whole which terrified her in the beginning.

I do not really know why Sweet Adelines in particular allowed its members to be themselves so much or why members mentioned it when it was not mentioned by members of the other groups. Perhaps, it is because the group, unlike the Richard Eaton Singers, presumes no skills on the part of its members beyond being able to carry a tune. The organization has a strong educational component which trains the women to do everything including arranging the music and conducting as well as more administrative skills. Perhaps, it also has to do with the musical director who was described to me as being very positive. There is also a great emphasis on making newcomers feel at home. Each new member has a big sister who calls her every week and every year there is a weekend retreat for the whole chorus. These are ways that Sweet Adelines have made sociability real for its members. Having a big sister gives a new member the opportunity to be a friend and also to be be-friended. Such efforts made by the chorus which are formally incorporated into the organization are examples of how groups can keep their members happy as discussed by Schindler-Rainman (1985) and Sherman and Smith (1984).

Learning and a Challenge

Many people talked explicitly about what they have learned through their involvement or the challenge it holds for them. However, even if it was not specifically included in the discussion it is clear that others learned through their involvement. Cal, from Rotary, learned about "making things happen" and probably some of the ABC women learned a lot about themselves through their participation. For example, because ABC was not very organized, Cassie felt obliged to take on more responsibility and likely learned more about her own initially somewhat unclear position on abortion. Of the people who did mention learning specifically, the activity-centred groups seem to be at the forefront although some service-centred group members and one ProLife woman also talked about what they had learned. Barb from ProLife said that over the six years she has been involved, she has grown as a person and learned a lot just by being a member and by reading books and articles and watching films on abortion.

As for the service-centred groups, Alan, the only Rotarian to discuss it, mentioned almost incidentally that he gained "a little bit of knowledge" through the weekly speakers. Alice of the CNIB also said that she had learned tremendously but did not say what she had learned. Chris said he learned a great deal from the books he read aloud at the CNIB although it was probably nothing he could not have learned if he head not been a volunteer. Naturally, Doris was learning (as she had hoped) office skills. Bill, the man who runs the shop at the CNIB and teaches clients on a one-to-one basis, says he learns a lot from his students.

> My way of thinking is that every student has a different way of doing things or a different way of getting things across and if we can communicate and I can get across to him well then I'm learning from him too.

What he means by this is that from every student he learns something new that will help him in other situations with other students.

The choir people talked specifically about how their music skills have improved or how the music offers them a challenge.

> Someone says to me, have you ever taken voice lessons, I say yes, I've been taking them for twenty years in the Eaton Singers. 'Cause we just learn so much about voice production and ear training. We have it every Tuesday (Angela, Richard Eaton Singers).

With respect to the Sweet Adelines, Annette said, "It's a very challenging type of music to sing because you're not relying on the accompanist carrying you through. You're relying on yourself, your own sense of pitch as well as on the people around you." Three of the Sweet Adelines also talked about learning things in the group not related to singing. Annette also said, "The singing is definitely the biggest part but I've learned so many other things in belonging to the organization: organizational skills." Further, Dana said she uses things everyday at work that she learned while being president of the chorus. In a completely different vein, Bess said that she has learned tolerance, patience and understanding from the women in the chorus.

Although it would seem that all the groups offer some sort of challenge or opportunity for learning, for some people more than others it is an important feature of their involvement. It would also seem that skills are learned that deal directly with the explicit function of the group, other skills are learned that can be applied in different settings, and behaviours or traits are learned from the example of other participants.

Contributing

Bill of the CNIB also gets a certain rush from helping people in his workshop. He says, "I mean to me volunteering, it's just like if I went out and had a good shot of whiskey...I feel I'm doing something." This feeling of making a contribution from either individually helping someone or from supporting a cause is a benefit described by the cause-centred people and the service-centred people. For Bill from the CNIB there are both types of experiences. He helps individuals in the workshop and he is also on the advisory board at the CNIB which for him is a cause because the board is trying to get better facilities and programmes for the visually-impaired. When describing the former he says:

> I like the feeling I get by knowing that they can do something and have them go away happy, that they realize they can accomplish something. They can go out there and do it. I mean to me it's a big uplift in my own feelings.

He also said, "You're happy because they learned. You were involved with that person while they were learning." About being on the advisory board, Bill said he felt that he was helping the visually-impaired by being able to have an input that was all the more important because he himself is blind. In both cases, his good feelings come from the fact that he is contributing to the well-being of visually-impaired people. Chris according to his values expressed a sense of satisfaction knowing that his efforts had helped someone if only six or seven people.

Alan talked about the great satisfaction he felt when students from Swaziland that the Downtown Rotary club brought to Edmonton gave a talk at a meeting and expressed their gratitude.

> We had a couple of them speak to the club and it was incredible how it seemed...We funded it and it seemed rather matter-of-fact in the way we handled it but to see how important it was to those individuals. It was very moving and so that gives you a great sense of satisfaction when you're doing something worthwhile.

It is interesting that to just give money or do the sponsoring did not really create the feelings of satisfaction for Alan. The gratitude of the recipient or knowing explicitly the difference the club's efforts made are what made him feel good. This could explain why when asked about the satisfactions derived from Rotary providing such services, Dave said, "It's not a big deal in my mind but I'm glad it's one of the things we do." Perhaps, if he had evidence of the good Rotary does or concrete examples of the difference it makes, he would feel differently.

The women in the cause-centred groups talked about the feelings of helping to make a change that being involved and contributing to the cause gives them. Anne, from ProLife, expressed it this way: "I really enjoy coming here. I really enjoy it and I feel like I'm doing, just contributing a little bit. It's only a tiny little bit but it's something." This idea of just being a small part of the whole movement came through in a lot of the things she said. Although it seemed that she wanted to do more and get more involved, she did feel that her efforts, however small, did make a difference.

> I still feel I'm not doing enough but I just have to tell myself, "Well, you know, you're just a little cog in the wheel and every cog, you know, I mean, if all the cogs fall out, well then, the wheel would collapse." So I have to tell myself, "Well, I'm just doing something, you know, to try and help the situation."

Doreen from ABC was more explicit about the satisfaction of helping to change things. "It makes me feel like I'm effecting change. I am having an impact, somehow. You now, I am having a part to play in changing things and so I feel like I'm actually doing something and accomplishing something." Similarly, Bellah et al. (1985) describe women who are active in groups in order to contribute to making changes. For example, Cecilia Dougherty volunteers for the Campaign for Economic Democracy because she wants to see the have-nots have power that reflects their numbers and she wants to protect the future of her children and grandchildren (p. 160). Mary Taylor works for the California Coastal Commission among other organizations in order to help protect the environment. Her underlying rationale is that people's attitudes must be changed so that they realize they have a responsibility to future generations.

For all these people, the satisfaction of contributing to their organizations comes from the fact that they feel they are helping people directly or making society better for people in general. Thus, they are all what Bellah et al. (1985) would call civic-minded professionals who have a commitment to the public good (p. 187) and are often motivated by community concern. Three of the ABC women have already been compared to professional activists which Bellah et al. (1985) see as a different type of volunteer than the civic-minded professional. The difference is that the activists assume that to increase one person's welfare, someone else's must be decreased. Thus, in order to achieve equality in distribution, people must have equal power since everyone is basically self-interested and is trying to get as much as possible. Civic-minded professionals, on the other hand, believe everyone in the community's welfare can be increased. Definitely the power dimension is an important differentiation. Yet it seems that all these people could be called civic-minded professionals since their motivation is community concern. However, the ABC women are serving a more limited or as Bender (1978) might call it a more modern community.

Chris, from the CNIB, was the only person who was adamant and said explicitly that he did not volunteer for the benefits. It would seem that altruism is the basis for his participation. Fitch (1987), however, would not put Chris in the "altruism" category because his volunteer work is linked to a sense of responsibility and repaying a debt to society. Fitch (1987) would argue that fulfilling such a duty benefits the person and is a benefit he or she seeks out. "I don't do it because I'm going to get something from it. I do it because I think it's right." However, he could not say that there were no benefits associated with volunteering.

> I'd be a hypocrite if I said I didn't get anything out of it, but I don't do it because it makes me feel pious. I do it because I think people need to help and there are opportunities for people to help.

Ebbs and Flows

This benefit was particular to the Rotary men I interviewed. It seems that Rotary is geared towards people who want different levels of involvement. Although there is a 60% attendance rule and members are expected to serve on at least one committee, people can be involved in as many projects or committees as they choose. Their level of involvement can change over time. There are ebbs and flows over the years in the participation of specific members. Bob was the first Rotarian to mention this to me.

> Members have periods of intense activity when you head up fundraising things or you take on a project for a hospital and then your activity level will go down an then you'll be asked to do something again and it goes in phases. At the moment, following many years on the board and the presidency, I'm burnt out. I'm not doing very much but I will again.

Cal, the man who had decreased his involvement because his wife returned to work, also saw this flexibility as a benefit of being a Rotarian.

> So you can do that: phase in and out of this. You can say okay, I'd like to do a little more this year or to say yes to a few more things or you can back off sort of and still feel like you belong. It's excellent that way.

This would seem to be the crucial point that you can ease up on your involvement and still be a member and feel part of the group.

Benefits to the Community

Members of the cause-centred groups felt that their groups were helping to educate people and change their ways of thinking. For example, beyond helping to get greater access to abortions, Doreen from ABC said:

> I would hope that it is educating so that John Q. Public, Jane Q. Public, as to the issues that involved and it's not just, "Can I have an abortion or can't I?" It's a feminist issue. If women can't say what is going on in their own bodies, they are second-class citizens and to me it's just the essence, you know, you're not as equal as men if you can't make a determination without having to ask someone permission.

Similarly, but on the other side of the issue, Barb, from ProLife, talked about educating people in order to change their attitudes.

> I think it changes attitudes of people. I think if you are only providing a solution of death you're really leaning on a negative aspect of things. If you're providing a solution of help and positive caring and just a real positive attitude and that, "We'll get you through this you know. We'll help you." What would you rather choose?

Her position is that ProLife provides a much more positive solution to an unwanted pregnancy and the group is trying to change people's attitudes to this positive, healthier perspective.

Obviously, the people form the CNIB and Rotary see the community benefitting from the services the groups provide. With respect to the CNIB which is the only agency that provides comprehensive service to the visually-impaired, Alice said:

> After they've met some of the people here and gone through some of the training like the orientation and mobility training or the rehabilitation training you see how their confidence soars and they are able to cope in the community and well it's just great.

The services provided by the CNIB are directed towards a very specific community and help the visually-impaired to live independently in Edmonton.

Bob from Rotary talked about the projects sponsored by the club.

> The Downtown Rotary club, at this point, tends to donate money to things. For example, we're funding the research on juvenile diabetes is just one example over the lat year. We bought a new heart machine for babies at the University Hospital, Meals on Wheels. You can go on and on. But Rotary has a strong impact on the community.

One Rotary member talked about the club strengthening ties within the community. "It's fostered better relationships between all kinds of people, all across the city over the years" (Dave, Rotary). Further, he said, "We all tend to run in our own little circles--'Oh, I didn't know that existed.' I think that's always good for Edmonton--fosters awareness of issues that other people have." By this Dave means that people tend to get insulated within their own group and Rotary gives them a chance to be exposed to others and their different ways of thinking.

Alan talked about the leadership provided by Rotary in Edmonton.

> Each club provides I think some leadership in the community because many of the members are senior business people in the community. It does provide some leadership on certain types of issues. We try to be apolitical and I guess areligious although we have members in our club who are politicians and members who are members of the clergy. But on some business issues I think members of our club are instrumental in providing leadership in many areas of the community.

Cal had a different perspective on what Rotary does for the community. He sees Rotary as nurturing voluntarism in Edmonton and that simply being a Rotarian makes people more willing to volunteer because it fosters that spirit and creates an awareness of needs in the community.

> So I think in that respect, it's probably its most significant contribution that maybe all the service contribution that maybe all the service clubs make in general. It's not that little project they do or anything in particular. It's the fact that they keep alive the voluntarism.

Cal calls Rotary a "resting place" for volunteers and a place they can start from if they want to get involved. Thus, Rotary would seem to be helping Imagine to alleviate the crisis in volunteering discussed in chapter two.

Most of the choir members talked about providing the community with a chance to hear and enjoy their music. For Angela, it takes on an almost educational bent.

> Well, they bring to Edmonton and have brought to Edmonton over the years, music that has never been heard live in this city before...We're the only choir of that kind that's gong to put on St. Matthew Passion or the Bach Magnificat or B Minor Mass. I think the Eaton Singers really enrich the lives of the audiences.

Cora, also a Richard Eaton Singer, thinks the choir provides a spirituality missing in today's society although she thinks if they sang only in English the message would be communicated much more effectively.

> Well, I suppose I would be able to say with a diligence, a vengeance and tremendous enthusiasm a fabulous aura of spirituality from our past which should be from our present that we have lost. We have been inundated with rock music that does predominantly nothing but sing about sexuality and drugs...In classical music, predominantly, we sing about the spiritual kinds of things and that's something that's very missing in our society.

So although she finds performing stressful, there is at least this joy in it for her.

Finally, Bess from the Sweet Adelines saw the chorus as contributing to the image and well-being of the city. "Another champion to put to the 'City of Champions'...We contribute to the economy every four years because we host a regional competition every four years so we have nearly 1000 people coming to Edmonton."

Conclusion

The benefits to the community described by the groups' members are quite diverse. Most of them deal with the specific product or goal of the group: the education of ProLife and ABC, the services of Rotary and the CNIB, and the music of the Sweet Adelines and the Richard Eaton Singers. However, other benefits such as community relations, the nurturing of voluntarism, and a source of spirituality are also benefits mentioned by members which have little to do with the specific function of the group.

These contributions to the community made by the groups are also the source of personal benefits for members, particularly of service-centred and cause-centred groups. For example, Chris from the CNIB would not be a volunteer if he felt he was not helping the blind community. Indeed, he gave up his last volunteer position with a political party because he thought the people in charge were too self-interested.

> I thought I was going to be helping people. What I was doing I thought was just self-serving for the politician...I didn't think I was helping as many people as I could...So I wanted to volunteer in an apolitical environment.

All these benefits to the community are a source of satisfaction for the group members. Perhaps, their descriptions of such benefits are just deeper articulations of their feelings of contributing. There is some sense that all the groups are good for society even if their explicit function is not aimed at benefitting anyone beyond the members themselves. However, it is possible that since the people I interviewed were all asked about community benefits, they felt compelled to come up with something rather than say the group is totally self-interested. Seemingly, it would be the choir members who would fit into this category. To some extent then given that everyone did describe community benefits, all the people I interviewed are civic-minded. However, as was shown in chapter four, most people were not motivated to join their groups by such a sense of social responsibility but rather by the benefits that participation offered them personally.

Such personal benefits include learning, an escape, a challenge, etc. The ones described here are just a sample and most people experience a number of benefits in combination. The package of benefits is what makes the experience a good one. Bess sums it up quite well even though her description is specifically about the Sweet Adelines. "It's all tied in together, the music and the performing and the travelling is nice, too, and the people. The people are great, all of them."

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIABILITY

Beyond the benefits associated with the specific goal or activity of the group such as the pleasure of singing or fulfilling a sense of civic obligation, there are benefits derived from simply being with other people. This chapter deals specifically with the benefits of being a member of an organization associated with the interaction with other people. Many of the group members talked about the chance to meet people as a benefit of participation while for the others the emphasis was on sharing the experience or working together with others. Some of these relationships established in the context of the group have expanded to other areas of the participants' lives. There were some people interviewed that said specifically they did not join in order to make friends. Others described how they got along well with some members but not others.

A Benefit

Most of the participants talked about sociability as a benefit of involvement. However, the description of the benefit was different in many cases. For some, the group offered them a chance to meet people and that was the reason for joining. For others, the social benefits grew from the involvement into an important part of the experience either because the group as a whole is seen as supportive or because of specific relationships being established.

All the Rotary men said the club gave them an opportunity to meet people. When asked what he got out of being a Rotarian, Dave said, "A fair bit of fellowship, I think, meeting a lot of people that I wouldn't have contact with otherwise, people in other occupations." Similarly, Alan emphasized the variety of people he gets to meet in Rotary. "You get an opportunity to say meet and dialogue with people [from] different parts of the community that you say normally wouldn't get in your normal business life." This chance to meet a variety of people seemed equally important to the Rotarians who were professionals (engineers, accountants, professors) and to Alan who was more generally involved in business.

Some people talked more generally about the whole group. For example, Dawn from the Richard Eaton Singers said, "So we [she and her husband] loved it from the first minute we walked in. The people were friendly and heterogeneous group, ages and types, you know, just everything." Here again, there is an emphasis on the variety of people. Annette from the Sweet Adelines also describes the entire group. "I haven't really formed any specific, close relationships with any of the people that I sing with but I certainly feel that the group as a whole is a very caring, very concerned type of group of people." Further, Bess said of the Sweet Adelines:

> If you're having a problem they're there for you...I just recently ended a five-year relationship and you know, you sing those sad songs and so occasionally you [sniffle] and there's always somebody there to, you know, put a hand on your shoulder, or you know, [say], "It's okay."

People also discussed how the relationships with other members had become important. Alice, from the CNIB, said, "I wouldn't be here if I didn't value the friendships and the day-to-day contact with the people that work here." Cora, from the Richard Eaton Singers, was very matter-of-fact when she said:

> At this point, now at the end of one year I guess you now have formed some relationships. So it has a social function now by the end of this year so I would have some interest in going back because of other people that I'd gotten to know to some extent and enjoy their company.

Although these two examples show that the relationships are an important part of the experience, Angela's description is the most emphatic and the most heartfelt. "Wonderful, wonderful friends, wonderful friends and I guess it's, outside of my family, the most important thing in my life."

Bess, from the Sweet Adelines, was the only person to talk about the process of getting to know people and establishing relationships. "It is a bit intimidating when you [first] go and you've got well over eighty people." She talked about how having a "Big Sister" helped her to feel like she belonged as did the travelling the group does.

> It's a bit difficult when you go in but you, like you've got at least one person that you know and they go, "Hi, how are you?" and then they're all so friendly and then when you go away with the chorus 'cause they travel a lot.

In these ways, people described to me the sociability benefits of their involvement in the groups. For some, like the Rotary men, the benefit is the chance to meet different people. For others, it is being involved in a caring group and finally for some, the benefit is the personal relationships established through the involvement.

Flowering Out

Flowering out is how Allan (1979) describes relationships that involve a number of different activities in a number of different settings. Thus, here it refers to the extent to which the relationships formed in the group extend to other areas of the participants' lives.

The Rotary men seemed to experience the most "flowering out". Alan, Bob and Cal all said they saw some of their fellow Rotarians outside the club on a social basis. Although Cal golfs with some of them now, he thinks that in the future, the interaction will increase.

> We're at a stage of life now where both my wife and I are very busy. My daughter's busy and we sort of avoid social things is probably the best way to describe it compared with when we were younger, you know. So there isn't as much of a need now for a lot of social things. But I can see down the road having made those connections and seeing those people and golfed with them that at least there'll be some ongoing social activity as our time frees up.

Dave, the other Rotarian, said that he did not see the people outside the club and was not even sure if he could define them as friends.

> Depends on how you define the word "friends" but yeah, I would. If friends are who you call up on a Friday night to watch a movie, well, I'm not sure if there's anybody amongst Rotary that I would do that with.

Dave's discussion of the definition of friend emphasizes Pogrebin's (1987) position that "almost everyone has a different definition of friendship" (p. 8) and it "is a category each of us invents" (p. 8). Further, since no one else questioned the definition of friend, it supports Pogrebin (1987) and Paine (1969) who say we use the word friendship as if it had universal meaning when in fact it means different things to different people.

I do not know why there is this difference between the members. All of them have been involved for a substantial length of time and all are quite active members, having been on the executive at some point. So they have all had the same opportunity to make connections with others. One thing that set Dave apart is that we had quite a long discussion about his shyness. When we talked about working together with others, he said that the purpose or goal made it easier for him to talk and get to know people. "I believe that's why I don't like cocktail parties. I don't do well under those circumstances." Further, he said that it was good for him to meet people. "I have a feeling that if I had my choices, I'd probably quite easily become a hermit [with] a good book." Perhaps, his shyness made it more difficult for Dave to extend the relationships to other areas like the other Rotarians seemed to do.

Bill, from the CNIB, was the other person whose relationships established through the organization have extended to other areas of his life. However, this might be due to his dual role in the CNIB as a client and a volunteer. He says that forty per cent of his friends and social activities have "to do with blind" and this may be a direct result of the service provided by the CNIB.

Barb said specifically of the ProLife relationships that they did not extend beyond the group. Perhaps, this is not surprising since the people are motivated by the cause and not the sociability. "I think we're a fairly close-knit group. I don't think they socialize all that much on the side but when they do get together, they chat and everything with each other."

These are the references to "flowering out" made by the people I interviewed. Perhaps it is quite predictable that members of a group with fellowship as one of its primary goals and who joined in order to meet people, expand their Rotary "friendships" to other settings and activities.

It is interesting that it was the men I interviewed who talked about how their relationships formed within the group had extended to other areas of their lives. This is contrary to what Pogrebin (1987) wrote about men having friends that fill a particular role. For example, they tend to have work friends, squash friends, Rotary friends, etc. But at least for Alan, Bob and Cal from Rotary and Bill from the CNIB, their friendships had moved beyond the one particular role.

Perhaps, the difference between these men and the other people I interviewed is that they had a different overall purpose than the others within the groups. Tomlinson (1983) would say that for these men, the groups are sites for sociability and companionability whereas for the other people, the groups are specifically places to do something particular or get something accomplished.

Sharing

Beyond just meeting and getting to know people, one of the benefits most often mentioned was actually being involved in some activity or project with others. The bonds created between people because of such experiences seemed very important to some people. For example, Alice from the CNIB said:

> The people here are my friends. The people that I've met

> that come in to be volunteers are tremendously interesting and to match them with a particular client who's asked for some kind of help when I think it's going to work or I can visualize something that's really a good match that's really rewarding.

The Rotarians also talked about the benefits of working with others to accomplish things. Dave said, "I can't stand cocktail party things. I just avoid them like the plague. so I don't like that kind of artificial (I call it that), superficial contact with people but getting involved and doing things." Cal provides another example when he said, "Working together as a team. Yeah, I think the team atmosphere is what's fun." Further, when asked why Rotary was important to him, he said, "I think just the involvement, just being part of a group of people who want to make things happen, that they have a genuine interest in and being involved and causing things to happen." In particular, Cal described how he got to know another Rotarian when they were working together.

> I mean I always have to volunteer to help solicit daisies for the liver association which our group, our Rotary agreed to provide some people. The guy I was with is my dad's age. He's a Rotarian and we had a real nice afternoon just talking about his life and things.

Cora and Angela talked about how the Richard Eaton Singers are bound together through their singing.

> There's a binding between you and the other singers but that bonding isn't necessarily, "Wow are we great." It's more like we did pretty good and we got over that really tough spot and we did okay and that kind of a "Yay, yay" and you're bonded in your commonality because you've worked at it and you've finally finished (Cora, Richard Eaton Singers).

With Angela, the feeling comes through much more strongly.

> What I get out of it is working with other people to whom music is as important as it is to me, just to do that, just to share something that is so important in your life with other people who feel that same way and who create a beautiful sound. I can't think of anything that would be more wonderful than that. As an artist you could create something by yourself. As a pianist you can create

> something by yourself that is beautiful but to create it with a group of other people and just to share that is just a wonderful experience.

Angela was also the one who described the "wonderful, wonderful friends" she has made in the choir. Thus, the bonds created through the joy of sharing the experience have become very personal for her. This contrasts with the discussion in chapter two of the myth of camaraderie between mountain climbers (Donnelly, 1982).

For these people from the CNIB, Rotary, and the Richard Eaton Singers sharing an activity such as doing a concert, matching up volunteers and clients, or soliciting for the liver association adds to the experience of simply meeting new people. Through the common purpose or goal, relationships and bonds with others are formed.

Some Yes, Some No

Even though the people I interviewed talked about the caring nature of their groups, how they appreciated the chance to meet and work with new people, or the friendships they had made as a result of their participation, several people mentioned that they did not know all the members and did not get along with all of them.

Cal and Bob both said that the size of the Downtown Rotary club prevented them from getting to know everyone. "I tend to be a bit of a groupie. I have friends and that's discouraged. The idea of Rotary is to mingle and to have fellowship. You see our club is huge club: 300 members so we do have cliques at lunch time" (Bob, Rotary). The club, therefore, really does encourage what Paine (1969) defines as group fellowship which means members "have chosen the group and not each other, nor must they begin to choose between each other within the group" (p. 518). However, further to Bob's comments, Cal said:

> There's some people, you know, that you're closer to and that you would say, "Oh, how're you doing today?" and you'd sit down together. I don't consciously make an effort

> to say I'll sit here because I want to get to know everybody.

Thus, even though Rotary encourages a broader involvement, members do form more intense personal relationships.

Bess, from Sweet Adelines, also said she could not get to know all the members because of the large size of the chorus.

> Well, you can't get to know everybody. It's just too big. I've been at a few different spots in the chorus. I'm in the front row now. I stand beside Lila so I've got to know her and I've got to know the girl who stands beside me.

Dawn from the Richard Eaton Singers and Bill form the CNIB both said they did not like everyone in the organization but felt that it was perfectly reasonable and was to be expected. "Maybe they don't like me but that's their problem. I mean, there's some people I don't get along with which I don't feel bad about because that's just the way life is" (Bill, CNIB). Similarly, Dawn said there are people she does not like but she indicated that even to those people she feels some sort of tie. "Like any big organization, some people in your family you can't stand, people you love and you know that sort of thing" (Dawn, Richard Eaton Singers).

Not for Friends

There were people that made it clear that they did not get involved for the sociability benefits. Chris, from the CNIB, said, "University's a social enough place anyway. There's always people around here I can chat with. It's just I think we have an obligation to help people. That's one of the ways I do it." Bill, from the CNIB, was also explicit about this.

> So I don't join a group just for friends. I join a group for my fulfillment. I join to fulfill my independence and I felt I had something to offer as a blind individual to help other blind people get along or better their world for them.

Bill's need for independence and perhaps it could be called self-actualization is probably more pressing or motivating because of his disability than it would be for other people. Thus, for him it is more important than the needs for belonging and contributing.

Cal was the only other person with whom the idea of joining not for the sociability arose. However, he does acknowledge that it has become important to his overall experience as a Rotarian.

> I made a lot of friends in the CA profession so I don't think I needed Rotary for the fellowship. It's something I didn't go into Rotary looking for. It's been a by-product and that's sort of what's happened.

This last point is crucial. For many people, sociability is not why they joined but has grown to be a very important part of their experience.

Conclusion

The only people who did not discuss sociability were members of ProLife and ABC. Although they never specifically said that it did not mater, friendships and sociability never came up in the discussions (except as indicated by Barb), so it would seem that their overriding concern is the cause. Yet, as illustrated by Doreen's comment about a "community of women" the ABC women likely experience a comradeship and solidarity as women that is an important part of their participation.

The other people discussed the sociability of their involvement in a variety of ways. To the Rotary men, it seemed that meeting different people was important. Although this is the club rhetoric and may be seen as a "pat" answer given with little thought, each man mentioned it yet described its personal significance differently. For example, Bob said, "Well, it's very selfish but I get being a member of the University community which is at best totally artificial, it is nice to go somewhere and meet with a cross-section of the community."

Rotary is specifically aimed at fellowship unlike any of the other groups.

However, its members described to me "flowering out" more than any others. But perhaps, a better term for their experience would be networking since none of the men talked about the caring nature of the group or the strong bonds and friendships associated with it. These things came through more strongly for CNIB volunteers, and the choir members. Unlike the other people I interviewed who talked about admiration, bonds, caring and support, the Rotarians talked about contacts and fellowship. Perhaps this difference is due to the fact that Rotary is set up as a professional, businesslike organization or that the men are not used to discussing such things especially with a young woman.

Yet for all people, it seemed that working together deepened the feelings for other members. The sharing of a purpose allowed them to get to know each other better and strengthened their ties to each other. Cal emphasized the point when he said that it was not at the Rotary lunch meetings that he really got to know people but through the committee or project work.

> It's no different than high school or university. You see a lot of people in high school but until you actually get involved in a yearbook committee or be part of a team or something you don't have that same closeness.

In conclusion, sociability is experienced by group members in different ways. For some the desire to meet a variety of people or the loneliness associated with a move to a new community (as was described by Bess and Dana in chapter four) motivate them to join a group. for others, the sociability grows to be an important part of the experience as it did for Angela from the Richard Eaton Singers. Initially, she just wanted to sing the great choral works and now twenty years later, some of the choir members are her best friends in the world.

Yet this depth of feeling is not experienced by all. It varies from person to person. For some, sociability is never an important factor in their involvement. This offers some support for Twelvetrees (1976) who wrote:

> From the standpoint of the individual a voluntary organization is seen not only as a means for satisfying certain of his interests and needs, but also as a group of people with whom he may or may not feel that he could mix freely (p. 43).

This, however, would seem to imply that people may not feel comfortable enough within the group to establish personal relationships. Although it is possible that this would be the case, for the people in this study for whom sociability was not important, there seemed to be no need or desire to establish deeper friendships with other members. Oldenburg (1989) might say that these people have a need for affiliation rather than a need for intimate relations and thus, they feel tied to the group rather than any particular individual member (p. 61).

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The three themes presented and their sub-categories represent the major patterns that emerged from the interviews. There are others but for one reason or another they were not included; either because they did not greatly add to what I wanted to study or the personal descriptions and stories of the participant did not bring the pattern to life or the pattern was not mentioned by more than one person. Needless to say, some of the unique things said by only one person were part of the most interesting discussions I had. I have included these comments (such as Cal's about his stay-at-home father) where appropriate. Others are left out although they would probably make wonderful case studies and would point to things outside the scope of my research. To illustrate this, I am including two examples. The first comes from Dave. He was talking about the procedures of becoming a new member in Rotary. A new member is proposed by an existing member and then if a classification (each occupation is classified and only one person per occupation is admitted) is unfilled, the person's name is posted for review by the membership.

> Then I think once you're posted, the only reason you could be objected to was on the grounds somebody knows that your character isn't good or whatever and I don't know how, what kind of rights you have against if somebody, you know, if somebody just didn't like you and came up with some, you know, obscure reason for you not getting in. I don't know what rights you have against that. That's bothered me a little bit but I've never followed that through. Like, if somebody objected during the posting stage, under human rights type thing, you'd like to really be aware of why you're being objected to and have the ability to defend yourself and I don't think that would happen.

Although this is interesting and shows a thoughtfulness concerning Rotary policies not apparent in the discussions with other Rotarians, it deals with the gatekeepers of organizations that help to maintain their elite status and would be more appropriate in another study.

Burt of the Richard Eaton Singers is another example of a person whose discussion was very different from everyone else's. His awareness of subtleties within a performance and the weight he places on the few great "flow" experiences and how he relates them to the rest of his life are very interesting.

> In this case, particularly the first one (performance) was not I thought a great performance 'cause of the usual first things but for me personally, I was depressed and I sorted some things out that night with some of the people involved and the next night I was singing and...there was a sense of fusion in the choir like we were all singing together and we became sort of two or three times better like that [snaps fingers] right in the middle of one of the choruses. It was tremendously moving and it happened at a particular point in my life where I was shifting, I think, allegiances and it had a strong personal effect for me of being more committed to trusting life forces despite the fact life forces don't ever guarantee to you any sort of anything really in the long run. Nevertheless you're alive or you're not and I think that full participation in living and authenticity in living is a challenge for everyone.

Most people were not as "in tune" with their experiences as Burt, although as Dave showed, there were areas where more thoughtfulness was evident. It would seem that many people did not think about their involvement a lot. Although they could easily describe how and why they got involved, it seemed more difficult for them to describe what the experience gives them or how it makes them feel. For example, Dave from Rotary said, "Can I have a day to think that one through?" when asked what he got out of being a member. Bill, from the CNIB, said, "That's a tough one" when asked about the difference in being on the advisory board and running the woodworking shop. However, this does not diminish the importance of the experience for those people. An inability to describe it or perhaps the fact that it had never been raised to the level of consciousness only means that it was harder for them to communicate with me. Their continuing involvement (over many years for some) attests to their personal benefits and the importance of the experience.

Yet even considering these difficulties patterns did emerge within the different types of groups: cause-centred, service-centred and activity-centred. Not surprisingly, all the ProLife and ABC members sought out the group on their own after becoming sensitized to the issue. For the ProLife women, the underlying motivation was religion while for the ABC women (except maybe the one who had had an abortion) it was feminism. Even given that they are on opposite sides of the abortion issue, the women are involved for the same reason; because they believe in the cause and they feel a need to educate the public. The benefits they experience are also similar. The women all believe that in a small way they are contributing and helping the cause.

Of all the pairs of groups in a category, the service-centred groups were the most different from each other. The Rotarians said they joined because they were asked and all of them denied that there was a gap in their lives that they wanted Rotary to fill. For example, Bob said, "I was not looking for anything. I was invited to join so I did." However, Rotary offered them an opportunity to meet new people and that was the most frequently mentioned benefit even though they were very involved in other things and had lots of friends previously. The service side of the Rotary club seemed less important for the men in terms of the benefits it gave them. The men were very consistent with their motivation and benefits. However, within the CNIB, the stories of the volunteers were quite different. Two of them got involved as clients first and then began volunteering. Doris did it because she wanted to gain work experience in a Canadian office. She was waiting to have an immigration hearing to see it she would be granted landed immigrant status. So she viewed her work in the toy library as preparation for the Canadian workforce and at such a time as she was legally allowed to have paid employment and got a job, she said her volunteering would end. Bill, on the other hand, felt his participation would continue basically forever. He values the rewards of teaching people skills in his shop that allow them to be more independent. But Bill's additional role on the advisory board made the CNIB a cause-centred group for him. He felt that it was an advocacy role that allowed him to make it a little better world for visually-impaired people. This offers support for Tomlinson's (1983) position that the same group can have different purposes for different people. Such differences may help to explain why participants assume different roles in the group. For example, if the CNIB was not considered a cause-centred group by Bill, would he have been as likely to accept a position on the advisory board?

Like some of the cause-centred participants, Chris was involved in the CNIB because of a sense of duty. However, his obligation is to people or society in general rather than to a specific cause. The benefits he experienced were associated with fulfilling his sense of duty and the knowledge that he was helping people. Finally, Alice became involved in the CNIB to fill a gap in her life. Her benefits come from knowing she has done a good job by finding the needed volunteers and unlike any of the other CNIB people, from the sociability involved. She likes the friendly atmosphere of the CNIB and likes working with people that she admires and respects so much. Thus, the CNIB provides a very different set of experiences from Rotary which is also a service-centred group. Rotary seems to provide the singular experience to all its members. Perhaps the difference is due to the fact that the CNIB serves a specific client group directly in many ways with a variety of services so there are numerous kinds of volunteers. Conversely, Rotary is a mediated-service group so generally the club raises money to give to various charities. There is no direct contact with clients and thus, benefits associated with helping someone personally are reduced. In addition, fundraising activities could tend to be similar so the variety of needs met and experiences available in comparison with the CNIB may be fewer.

The CNIB people demonstrate that a particular group can have a different function and fulfill different needs for different people. As Bishop and Hoggett (1986) point out every group is unique in some way and fulfills different social needs but this can also vary from participant to participant as well as from group to group. Perhaps, the CNIB is an extreme case of this because the positions and experiences it offers volunteers are so different and independent. However, even within the activity-centred category, people joined the choirs for different reasons although the experiences tended to be similar. Some joined to continue past experiences in choirs, others joined to create a balance in their lives and still others joined to meet people. However, all of the people enjoyed the training of their voices, the sociability of the group, and sharing the involvement with others.

This idea of working with others as a benefit of participation is important in many of the groups: for Cal and Dave in Rotary, for Alice in the CNIB, for Anne in ProLife, for Angela and Cora in the Richard Eaton Singers, and for Annette and Bess in the Sweet Adelines. The choir members experience a bonding and a joy when they sing together producing beautiful music. The others like being part of a team working towards something. Anne describes it this way: "Well, you know, you're just a little cog in the wheel and every cog, you know...I mean if all the cogs fall out well then the wheel would collapse." Cal put it a little differently.

> I like meeting people and I think it's just the fact that it's a chance to be involved...It was a chance to sort of feel good about myself... It's probably a chance to meet other people and feel like I belong and am useful.

This sociability benefit seemed to be common to all the groups regardless of type. Essentially, people wanted to be with others not just for the sake of being together but to do something.

Other benefits such as flow, a challenge, and an escape, although not necessarily unique to a particular type of group, were emphasized within a certain category either cause-centred or activity-centred more than others. This does not seem true for the service-centred groups in which there was a great variety of benefits. Like the service-centred groups, motivations also varied for activity-centred and cause-centred groups.

Only two people specifically said they joined their groups because social ties were lacking in their lives: Bess and Dana both from the Sweet Adelines. They were new to Edmonton and needed a way to meet people. An important difference between the two of them is that Bess, an unmarried woman with no children, had a full-time paid job while Dana was married and staying at home to raise her children. However, both were looking to establish relationships with others. About people like Bess, Bellah et al. (1985) write, "If the only way one makes a contribution to the community's good is through specialized application of a professional skill, one gets lonely. The company of family and friends remains important" (p.186). The fact that Dana did have a family in Edmonton and was still looking for sociability while Bess' family was out of the province emphasizes the importance of friends beyond family. This supports Oldenburg (1989) who writes that in order to be fulfilled, a person must be satisfied in the third realm as well as at home and at work. That satisfaction includes having friends. Bess and Dana were specifically looking for this type of satisfaction while for others it grew to be an important part of the experience. Still for others, it was never very significant.

Since the idea of sociability and ties with others was to be a major focus of the research and since it was not important to all participants, it may have been better to interview people about their friends and other sources of sociability in their lives. As it was, discussions concerning involvement n groups revealed more about the role of the group in the people's lives and the diverse needs they fulfilled. I found out more about the groups but did discover differences between the types and commonalities among them other than sociability.

Nevertheless, the interviews were a rich source of data and even though some people found it more difficult than others to express themselves, I came away with an overall sense that these groups are very important to those people and offer them a valued experience. The qualitative ethnographic methodology allowed me to hear their stories in their own words and the result was that from everyone I got a good feeling from their enthusiasm and commitment to their organization. This good feeling came from the knowledge that these people cared about the other members and the group and its goals more generally. As Hoggett and Bishop (1986) point out, "We can see that groups have a purpose wider than their ostensible title - as a vehicle for more general patterns of socialization" (p. 27). If as Bellah et al. (1985), Ignatieff (1984), etc. say people like Chris from the CNIB with a sense of social responsibility are disappearing, then maybe such groups as The Sweet Adelines etc. can help to "re-connect" us. These authors write that because the ties that bind us together have changed for various reasons such as urbanization, and industrialization that were discussed in chapter two, our sense of civic duty has decreased. My discussions with the group members revealed that if they did not feel ties with others when they joined, bonds certainly developed. Thus, a sense of interconnectedness at least to other members was present and perhaps in these people a sense of social responsibility and a stronger sense of community had developed.

Although this research starts to fill the gaps by describing people's experiences in various groups during their non-work time in their own words, it brings to light new areas to be studied. From my own perspective, each of the groups and other groups could be interesting case studies individually in terms of the experiences of the participants. A comparison could also be made between different types of activity-centred groups cause-centred groups or service-centred groups. For example, are the experiences in a performing arts group such as a choir similar to the experiences in a sports group? Finally, it would be interesting to study people rather than groups and find out about their complete patterns of involvement. Most of the people I talked to were involved with more than one group and since it seems that different groups fulfill different needs, the role of the various groups in people's lives would be interesting to study.

In the final analysis, there is a lot more research that could be done but this study helps us to begin to understand what being a part of a group means to its members. For some people, the involvement is very extensive and is very important to them. To end with one of the participants who sums up the importance of the experience very well seems appropriate. "I get a real satisfaction out of it. You know, I feel I'm living life to the full. I feel good about the way I lead my life" (Dave, Rotary).

REFERENCES

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1987). The past and future of ethnography. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 16, 4-24.

Ahwee, V.A. (1985). Future implications for volunteerism. In L.I. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 139-151). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Allan, G.A. (1979). A sociology of friendship and kinship. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Barber, B. (1980). "Mass apathy" and voluntary social participation in the United States. New York: Arno Press.

Battista, R.R. (1990). Personal meaning: Attraction to sports participation. Perceptual and Motor Skills, 70, 1003-1009.

Baumgarten, M., Thomas, D., de Courval, L.P., & Infante-Rivard, C. (1988). Evaluation of a mutual help network for the elderly residents of planned housing. Psychology and Aging, 3, 393-398.

Bellah, R.N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W.M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S.M. (1985). Habits of the heart. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Bender, T. (1978). Community and social change in America. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Berg, B.L. (1989). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Bishop, J., & Hoggett, P. (1986). Organizing around enthusiasms. London: Comedia Publishing Group.

Blumstein, P., & Killock, P. (1988). Personal relationships. Annual Review of Sociology, 14, 467-490.

Burke, J.M. (1989). Freemasonry, friendship and noblewomen: The role of the secret society in bringing enlightenment thought to pre-revolutionary women elites. History of European Ideas, 10, 283-293.

Burton, T.L. (1984). The economic significance of recreation in Alberta. Unpublished manuscript.

Burton, T.L. (1990). Sources of invalidity in social research measures. Unpublished manuscript.

Carter, N. (1975). Volunteers: The untapped potential. Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Social Development.

Chavis, D.M., Hogge, J.H., & & McMillan, D.W. (1986). Sense of community through Brunswik' lens: A first look. Journal of Community Psychology, 14, 24-40.

Clark, P.B., & Wilson, J.Q. (1961). Incentive systems: A theory of organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly, 6, 129-166.

Connell, M. (1990, October 3). Charity can begin at work too. Globe and Mail, p. A21.

Crowe, P.W. (1981). Community size and social relationships: A comparison of urban and rural social patterns in Tirol. Anthropological Quarterly, 54, 210-229.

Cunningham, H. (1980). Leisure in the Industrial Revolution. London: Croom Helm.

Davis, D.L. (1986). Occupational community and fishermen's wives in a Newfoundland fishing village. Anthropological Quarterly, 59, 129-142.

Dean, J.P., Eichhorn, R.L., & Dean, L.R. (1969). Limitations and advantages of unstructured methods. In G.J. McCall & J.L. Simmons (Eds.), Participant observation: A text and reader (pp. 19-23). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Dean, J.P. & Whyte, W.F. (1969). "How do you know if the informant is telling the truth?". In G.J. McCall & J.L. Simmons (Eds.), Participant observation: A text and reader (pp. 106-114). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Donnelly, P. (1982). Climbing leads people to form close friendships. Mountain 83, Jan/Feb, 45-49.

Emo, M. (1989). Volunteers in multi-domain organizations. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Emerson, R.M. (1987). Four ways to improve the craft of fieldwork. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 16, 68-69.

Feld, S.L. (1981). The focused organization of social ties. American Journal of Sociology, 86, 1015-1035.

Field, P.A. & Morse, J.M. (1985). Nursing research: The application of qualitative approaches. Rochville, MD: Aspen Publishers, Inc.

Fine, G.A. (1986). Friendships in the work place. In V.J. Derlega & B.A. Winstead (Eds.), Friendship and social interaction (pp. 185-205). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Fischer, C.S. (1982). To dwell among friends. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Fitch, R.T. (1987). Characteristics and motivations of college students volunteering for community service. Journal of College Student Personnel, 28, 424-431.

Foster, B.L., & Seidman, S.B. (1982). Urban structures derived from collections of overlapping subsets. Urban Anthropology, 11, 177-192.

Glaser, B.G. (1969). The constant comparative method of qualitative analysis. In G.J. McCall & J.L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation: A text and reader (pp. 216-228). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Graff, L. (1989). Voluntary organizations and volunteering: Size doesn't matter. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Grieshop, J.I. (1985). How art thou motivated? Let me count the ways! In L.F. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 215-228). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Guay, J. (1989). Self-Help groups in Canada. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. Educational Communication and Technology Journal, 30, 223-252.

Hammersley, M. (1989). The dilemma of qualitative method: Herbert Blumer and the Chicago tradition. London: Routledge.

Harvey, A. (1989). Informal volunteers: Doing it on their own. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Hawrlyshyn, O. (1978). The economic nature and value of volunteer activity in Canada. Social Indicators, 5, 1-71.

Henderson, K.A. (1990). Reality comes through a prism: Method choices in leisure research. Society and Leisure, 13, 169-188.

Hoggett, P., & Bishop, J. (1985). Leisure beyond the individual consumer. Leisure Studies, 4, 21-38.

Howe, C.Z. (1988). Using qualitative structured interviews in leisure research: Illustrations from one case. Journal of Leisure Research, 20, 305-324.

Huckfeldt, R.R. (1983). Social context, social networks and urban neighborhoods: Environmental constraints on friendship choice. America Journal of Sociology, 89, 651-669.

Ignatieff, M. (1984). The needs of strangers. New York: Penguin Books.

Kasarda, J.D., & Janowitz, M. (1974). Community attachment in mass society. American Sociological Review, 39, 328-339.

Kemmis, S. (1980). The imagination of the case and the invention of the study. In H. Simons (Ed.), Towards a science of the singular (pp. 93-142). East Anglia: Centre of Applied research in Education.

Kent, J. (1989). Volunteers in leisure, recreation and sports organizations. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Kent, J. (1989). Volunteers in health organizations. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Kidder, L.H., & Judd, C.M. (1986). Research methods in social relations. New York: CBS College Publishing.

Larossa, R. (1988). Renewing our faith in qualitative family research. Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 17, 243-260.

Massey, D.S. (1986). The social organization of Mexican migration to the United States. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 487, 102-113.

McCall. G.J. (1986). Data quality control in participant observation. In G.J. McCall & J.L. Simmons (Eds.), Issues in participant observation: A text and reader (pp. 128-141). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

McLaughlin, J. (1986). Reliability and validity issues in school ethnography and qualitative research. Journal of School Health, 56, 187-189.

McPherson, J.M., & Smith-Lovin, L. (1986). Sex segregation in voluntary associations. American Sociological Review, 51, 61-79.

Mitchell, R.G. (1983). Mountain Experience. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Moore, L.F. (1985). Motivation in the context of volunteerism. In L.F. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 1-11). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In H. Roberts (Ed.), Doing feminist research (pp. 30-61). London: Routledge.

Oldenburg, R. (1989). The great good place. New York: Paragon House.

O'Neill, J. (1972). Sociology as skin trade. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Paine, R. (1969). In search of friendship: An exploratory analysis in 'middle-class' culture. Man, 4, 505-524.

Palinkas, L.A., Wingard, D.L., & Barrett-Connor, E. (1990). The biocultural context of social networks and depression among the elderly. Social Science and Medicine, 30, 441-447.

Perkin, K.B. (1987). Volunteer fire departments: Community integration, autonomy and survival. Human Organization, 46, 342-348.

Perlman, D., & Fehr, B. (1986). Theories of friendship: The analysis of interpersonal attraction. In V.J. Derlega & B.A. Winstead (Eds.), Friendship and Social Interaction (pp. 9-40). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Pinder, C.C. (1985). Needs, cognitive factors, and the motivation to volunteer. In L.F. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 31-55). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Pogrebin, L.C. (1987). Among friends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Prince, M.J. (1989). Volunteers in the community: Society and public benefit organizations. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Reichlin, S. (1982). Volunteering and adult education: A historical view. In E. Greenberg (Ed.), New dimensions for experiential learning: New partnerships; higher education and the nonprofit sector (pp. 25-33). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Rojek, C. (1985). Capitalism and leisure theory. London: Tavistock Publications.

Ross, D.P. (1990). Economic dimensions of volunteer work in Canada. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State.

Rubin, A., & Thorelli, I.M. (1984). Egoistic motives and longevity of participation by social service volunteers. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 20, 223-235.

Schatzman, L., & Strauss, A.L. (1973). Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Schindler-Rainman, E. (1985). Motivating volunteers through enhancing their competence. In L.F. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 129-137). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Schram, V.R. (1985). Motivating volunteers to participate. In L.F. More (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 13-29). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Seeley, J.R., Sim, R.A., & Loosley, E.W. (1956). Crestwood Heights. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sherman, J.D. & Smith, H.L. (1984). The influence of organizational structure on intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation. Academy of Management Journal, 27, 877-885.

Sim, R.A. (1988). Land and community. Guelph: University of Guelph.

Simmel, G. (1971). On individuality and social forms. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, D.H. (1980). Determinants of individuals' discretionary use of time. In D.H. Smith & J. Macaulay (Eds.), Participation in social and political activities (pp. 34-75). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Stake, R.E. (1980). The case study method in social inquiry. In H. Simons (Ed.), Toward a science of the singular (pp. 62-75). East Anglia: Centre for Applied Research in Education.

Stewart, L. (1989). Volunteers who work with children and youth. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.

Tomlinson, A. (1983). The illusion of community: Cultural values and the meaning of leisure in a gentrifying neighbourhood. In A. Tomlinson (Ed.) Leisure and popular cultural forms (pp. 68-88). Brighton, England: Brighton Polytechnic.

Twelvetrees, A.C. (1976). Community associations and centres. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Twelvetrees, A.C. (1982). Community work. London: The MacMillan Press Ltd.

Van Manen, M. (1984). "Doing" phenomenological research and writing. Unpublished manuscript.

Van Til, J. (1985). Mixed motives: Residues of altruism in an age of narcissism. In L.F. Moore (Ed.), Motivating volunteers (pp. 243-261). Vancouver: Vancouver Volunteer Centre.

Walsh, D. (1972). Sociology in the social world. In P. Filmer (Ed.), New directions in sociological theory (pp. 15-35). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Werner, O., & Schoepfle, G.M. (1987). Systematic fieldwork: Foundations of ethnography and interviewing. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Wilmott, P. (1987). Friendship networks and social support. London: Policy Studies Institute.

Winning, A. (1990). The meaning of community. The ATA Magazine, 71(1), 15-18.

Wolfenden Committee. (1978). The future of voluntary organisations. London: Cromm Helm Ltd.

Yin, R.K. (1984). Case study research: Design and methods. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc.

Zenchuk, J. (1989). We, the volunteers: From the volunteers' perspective. Ottawa: Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada.